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Dear Dr. Lieber
with the respects of
J. T. Moore

W. H. Smith
19th Oct 1823





University of
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HISTORY

OF

Bunker Hill Battle.

WITH A

PLAN.

BY S. SWETT.

Thir^d Edition.

WITH NOTES.

AND

LIKENESSES OF THE PRINCIPAL OFFICERS.

BOSTON :

MUNROE AND FRANCIS, 128 WASHINGTON-STREET.

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1827.

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DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

District Clerk's Office.

BE it remembered, that on the ninth day of September, A.D. 1818, in the forty-third year of the Independence of the *United States of America*, Samuel Swett of the said District, has deposited in this Office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, *to wit*:

Historical and topographical Sketch of Bunker Hill Battle, with a plan. By S. Swett.

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving and etching, historical and other prints."

JOHN W. DAVIS,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

PREBLE,* Ward, Pomeroy, Thomas, Heath, and Whitcomb, were appointed by the Mass. Congress generals of the militia, some detachments of which, having defeated the enemy at Lexington and driven them into Boston, could no longer be retained in quarters. Only five days after the battle, Gen. Ward writes Congress, that, unless they furnished him with enlisting orders immediately, he should be left entirely alone. The day before, however, that body had resolved, that an army of thirty thousand was necessary ;—that Massachusetts would raise thirteen thousand six hundred of the number ; and that the other New England States should have notice given them, and be requested to furnish their respective proportions. But the battle of Lexington was a beacon fire to the neighbouring states. The hardy yeomen, whom rage supplied with arms, did not wait to be summoned by the tardy process of legislation ; they seized their hunting pieces, and flew to join their brethren at the scene of danger.

The Committee of Safety, elected anew by Congress at every session, were the real executive of Massachusetts.† They were empowered generally to watch over the safety of the commonwealth, and advise Congress of such measures as they thought beneficial, and expressly commissioned :

“ To assemble such and so many of the Militia and them to dispose and place where and detain so long as said Committee shall judge necessary, and discharge said Militia when the safety of the Colony will admit. And the officers of the said Mi-

* Father of Com. Preble, who did not accept.

† The members were now John Hancock and Benjamin Greenleaf, who never took their seats ; John Pigeon, and Enoch Freeman, seldom present ; and Joseph Warren, chairman, Benjamin Church, Benjamin White, Joseph Palmer, Abraham Watson, Samuel Holten, Azor Orne, Nathan Cushing, and Richard Devens.—Secretary, Jonathan Hastings.

litia are enjoined to obey the orders and directions of said Committee of Safety. And also to direct the army of this Colony to be stationed where said Committee of Safety shall judge most conducive to the defence and service of this Colony, and the general and other officers of the army are requested to render strict obedience to such orders of said Committee ; but Congress have power to control any order of the Committee of Safety. Also to nominate persons to Congress to be commissioned officers in the army and to give enlisting orders to such persons as they think proper. And if any officers be ready to be commissioned agreeable to the resolve of this Congress during the recess of the same the Committee shall fill up and deliver to them commissions to be furnished said Committee in blank for that purpose."

This committee distributed beating or enlisting orders to those whom they thought qualified to raise recruits. The number of a company was reduced from one hundred to fifty-nine ; any one who enlisted this number was entitled to a captain's commission ; and he who procured ten companies to serve under him commanded the regiment. Mass. Congress issued an eloquent address to the people, recruits came in with spirit, and by the middle of June the New England army of citizen soldiers, enlisted for a few months,* amounted to about fifteen thousand.

Of these about ten thousand were of Massachusetts ; animated with the same love of liberty which inspired the whole, they were the most thoroughly instructed in the rectitude of their cause by Otis, who led the forlorn hope of the revolution, Jno. Adams, Quincy, Hancock, Sam'l Adams, and others. They were fighting battles peculiarly their own, in defence of their wives, children and homes, and had that warlike reputation to support, which they and their fathers acquired from continued triumphs over ferocious savages, and recent success at Nova Scotia and Louisbourg over European troops.†

* Conn. and R. I. to Dec. ; Mass. to Jan.

† MASS. REGIMENTS AND FIELD OFFICERS.

From	Colonels.	Lt. Colonels.	Majors.	At
Worcester.	Hon. Artemas Ward.	Jonathan Ward.	Edw. Barne, Tim. Bigelow.	Cambridge.
Plymouth.	Hon. John Thomas.	John Bailey.	Thos. Mitchell, Jno. Jacobs.	Roxbury.
Bristol.	Timothy Walker.	Nath'l Leonard.	Abiel Mitchell.	Do.
Plymouth.	Theophilus Cotton.	Ichabod Alden.	Ebenezer Sprout.	Do.
Worcester.	Aas Whitcomb.	Josiah Whitney.	Ephraim Sawyer.	Cambridge.
Do.	Joseph Read.	Ebenezer Clapp.	Calvin Smith.	Roxbury.
Essex.	John Mansfield.	Isv'l Hutchinson.	Ezra Putnam.	Cambridge.

Mass. Congress, on the 10th May, ordered, a regiment of artillery to be raised, it was scarcely organized yet ; the train consisted of one six, two brass,* and six iron three-pound cannon. Col. Richard Gridley, Lt. Col. Wm. Burbeck, Majors David Mason and Scarborough Gridley, were the field officers.†

Rhode-Island had sent a regiment to Massachusetts imbued with the determined spirit of civil and religious liberty, which the founder of their state maintained through every peril. Colonel Green was their commander, one of the most promising heroes of the revolution. The elements of a soldier were so mixed in him, that his elevated rank among distinguished warriors was already anticipated. Under him were Lieut. Col. Olny and Maj. Box,‡ an experienced English soldier. An artillery company with four field-pieces was attached to the corps.

The hardy yeomanry of New Hampshire, beneath whose strokes the lofty forests and their savage inhabitants had been levelled with the dust, who had been used to little control but

From	Colonels.	Lt. Colonels.	Majors.	At
Wor. & Ham.	Timothy Danielson.	Wm. Sheppard.	David Leonard.	Roxbury.
Middlesex.	William Prescott.	John Robinson.	Henry Wood.	Cambridge.
Essex.	James Frye.	James Brickett.	Thomas Peor.	Do.
Middlesex.	Ebenezer Bridge.	Moses Parker.	John Brooks.	Do.
Berkshire.	John Patterson.	Seb Head.	Jeremiah Cady.	Do.
Maine.	James Scamman.	Johnson Moulton.	Daniel Wood.	Do.
Wor. & Berk.	Ebenezer Learned.	Danforth Keyes.	Jonathan Holman.	Roxbury.
Middlesex.	Thomas Gardner.	William Bond.	Michael Jackson.	Cambridge.
Do. & Wor.	John Nixon.	Thomas Nixon.	John Butterick.	Do.
Ham. & Berk.	John Fellows.	Nathan Eager.	Benjamin Tupper.	Roxbury.
Worcester.	Ephraim Dooley.	Benj's Holden.	William Moore.	Cambridge.
Do. & Midd.	Jonathan Brewer.	Wm. Buckminster.	Nathaniel Cudworth.	Do.
Do. & do.	David Brewer.	Rufus Putnam.	Nathaniel Danielson.	Roxbury.
Suffolk.	Hon. William Heath	John Graten.	John Loring, Jos. Vose.	Do.
Hampshire.	Benj. R. Woodbridge.	Abijah Brown.	William Stacey.	Cambr.
Essex.	John Glover.	John Gerry.	Gabriel Johnson.	Marblehead.
Do.	Moses Little.	Isaac Smith.	James Collins.	Cambr.
Do. & Midd.	Samuel Gerrish.	Loammi Baldwin.	James Weston.	Do. Maldon & Chelsea.

A number of companies, belonging to regiments at Roxbury, were at Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, and other parts of Plymouth county.

* The Hancock and Adams, so adroitly taken by stratagem from a British guard in Boston. The two other pieces, taken near the same time and carried to Roxbury, were doubtless in Gen. Thomas' camp.

† Capts. Callender, Burbeck, Trescott, Pierce, Chadwick, Gridley, Popkin, Crafts, Foster, and Badlam.

‡ Appointed Brig. Maj. by Washington.

what the God of Nature imposed, were moved with indignation at approaching tyranny. They flocked as volunteers to the neighbourhood of Boston, and chose Col. Stark, Lieut. Col. Wyman, and Maj. M'Clary their leaders. Their colonel was worthy to command this formidable band ; he had been a distinguished captain of Provincial Rangers received into the service of the crown, was at Quebec under Gen. Wolfe, and enjoyed half pay as a British officer, an offering he made with other sacrifices for the good of his country.—Their major also was a favourite officer. Nearly six feet and a half in height, with a Herculean form in perfect proportions, a voice like Stentor, and strength of Ajax ; ever unequalled in athletic exercises, and unsubdued in single combat, whole bodies of men had been overcome by him, and he seemed totally unconscious that he was not equally unconquerable at the cannon's mouth. His mind and character were of the same grand and energetic cast with his person ; and though deficient in the advantages of finished education, he had been a member of the state legislature, and his mercantile concerns were extensive.

Colonel Sargent, driven from Massachusetts by the enmity of Governor Hutchinson, resorted to Amherst, and brought a small regiment from that part of New Hampshire.* And, on 15th June, another small regiment from New Hampshire, arrived under Col. Reed, Lieut. Col. Gilman, and Maj. Hale.

Republican Connecticut, the secure asylum of the regicide judges, was behind none of the provinces in determined hostility to Britain, for not only civil but religious liberty, paramount with her to all earthly considerations, was in danger. In her vocabulary the British were the Philistines, and Putnam, the American Samson,† a chosen instrument to defeat the foe ; and fortunately she inspired her confidence into all her sister states. With her usual sagacity, however, this province, notwithstanding a confident reliance on supernatural aid, employed all human means to secure it. Her State constitution and establishments were unchanged, her troops the best armed, disciplined, and provisioned, in the army.

* Col Sargent's Lett.

So completely had almost every circumstance relative to the battle been permitted to sink into oblivion, that the author could not in 1818 discover to what province this whole regiment belonged, but presumed to Massachusetts, where the Col. did ; what renders it more striking, Gen. Dearborn, of the N.H. troops, seems to have forgotten it ; he mentions two other regiments only as coming from New Hampshire.

† N. E. Chron. Aug. '75.

On the first news of the battle of Lexington, Putnam mounted his horse, rode night and day till he arrived at Cambridge, and attended a Council of War on the 21st April, when the parole was Putnam.* His troops soon followed him ; Storrs was Lieut. Col. and Durkee, who had served with him through the whole war of '56, with distinguished reputation, the Maj. of his regiment. Brig. Gen. Spencer, Lieut. Col. Willis, and Maj. Mayo, Col. Waterbury and Col. Parsons came also with the Connecticut troops, in all about three thousand. Capt. Coit, who had lost an eye, was next to M'Clary in stature and intrepidity ; he commanded an independent company of New-London mariners, and Chester another independent company from Weathersfield, the elite corps of the army. As such it was selected, on the 6th June, to escort Gen. Putnam and Warren, President of Congress, to Charlestown, on the exchange of prisoners with the British.

The scene of their meeting was hallowed by the flag of truce which waved over it, and sacred to the rites of hospitality and friendship. The officers on both sides were personal friends, though arrayed against each other in public hostility. Between Putnam and the British officers, especially, these ties had been cemented by the mutual perils and intimate associations of the camp, during the long war of '56, and their present opposition served only to make their affection glow with a more genial warmth. These rugged sons of Mars, from the impulse of feeling, rushed into each others' arms ; bravery proved its natural alliance with the finer feelings of the human heart ; the fell spirit of civil war was softened. The British were entertained by Putnam and Warren as their guests.

The army was under the command of Artemas Ward, commissioned the 21st of May, as general and commander in chief of the Massachusetts forces. His general orders were copied and obeyed by all the troops in Massachusetts to whatever Province they belonged, and the officers were ordered on courts martial, and the usual routine of duty without any distinction whatever.* Mass. Congress also resolved, on the 23d of May, that a Lieut. Gen., two Maj. Gens., four Brig., two Adj. and two Qr. Mr. Gens. should be appointed.

Gen. Ward was a gentleman of liberal education, vigorous understanding and distinguished probity. He had been a member of the council, speaker of the assembly, and chief justice of one of the courts in Massachusetts. He professed the rigid

* Ord. Book

tenets of New England religion, and his rank and character commanded an extensive influence in the country. He had also served with reputation in the war of '56, was a lieut. col. at the storming of Ticonderoga, under Gen. Abercrombie, and soon after commanded the regiment. He had also been a Col. of militia, an office from which Gov. Hutchinson relieved him on account of his being too true a patriot.

Gen. Thomas received the appointment of Lieut. Gen. which he accepted the 27th of May. As a gentleman of honor, superior talents and education, a pure patriot, a gallant, enterprizing soldier, his character commanded universal confidence. He had served in the former war with reputation, and already distinguished himself in this. Being in command at Roxbury with a feeble force, Gen. Gage had determined to drive him from that important post. But his vigilance detected the design, and by a *ruse de guerre* he defeated it, manœuvring his troops in sight of the enemy, he gave them the appearance of much greater numbers than he possessed, and the enemy relinquished the enterprise.*

The veteran Gen. Pomeroy of Northampton continued with the new levied troops under his old commission, not having yet received a new appointment, and assisted in organizing the army. He was a hardy intrepid adventurous soldier, a keen and celebrated hunter, an honest, open hearted man. He had acquired a distinguished reputation in the war of '56, when military fame was the reward of individual prowess and private enterprise, and left the service a laurelled captain of *Provincials*. He commanded a company under Sir William Johnson in the celebrated engagement when the French and Indians, under the Baron Dieskau, were defeated. To our captain the honor of having slain the Baron was awarded over rival claims, and the baron's watch was bestowed on him as a trophy to be transmitted with his fame to posterity.† He was in fact the natural military chieftain of his neighbourhood, and may well be styled the Putnam of Connecticut river.

Gen. Whitcomb bore a close resemblance in history and character to Pomeroy. He appeared with the militia at Lexington battle, but was too old for service. He received the appointment of Muster Master, with Col. Benjamin, and on 12th June of Maj. Gen. which he declined.

On the 14th of June, Joseph Warren‡ was elected a major general of Massachusetts. In his character the heroism of an-

* Gordon.

† It is yet retained in his family.

‡ "Un des ces hommes, dont la nature est avare."

tiquity combined with the romantic chivalry of the middle ages. An accomplished scholar ; gifted with distinguished genius, his mind was stored with the treasures of classic erudition. A model as an orator ; ardent, elegant, and impressive, selected twice to address his fellow citizens in public, his eloquence burst asunder those strong ties by which nature bound them to the mother country. A patriot, pure and without reproach ; his favourite maxim was " *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" An eminent physician ; his superb character soared far beyond the narrow limits of his profession. In person handsome, in manners elegant and accomplished, he was the favorite of the drawing room, and qualified to shine in the highest circles of fashion. But the cause of liberty, of his country, and mankind, summoned him to a destiny by far more exalted. Chairman of the Committee of Safety, and President of the Provincial Congress, he remembered that, in the simplicity of ancient republics, the most distinguished legislators were also the most devoted warriors. As a volunteer he accompanied Gen. Putnam to one of the islands, where, in a warm engagement, the enemy were defeated and one of their vessels destroyed ;* and his head had been grazed by a ball from the enemy at the battle of Lexington.

Gen. Ward's quarters were at Cambridge, with about 8,000 Massachusetts troops, and 1000 from Connecticut. The latter, with Sargent's and Patterson's regiments, were under the immediate command of Gen. Putnam, in a central and advanced position near Inman's farm, where the enemy landed previous to the battle of Lexington. Some slight breastworks were thrown up by these troops, and a considerable redoubt erected near the Charlestown road, a mile and a half from Cambridge, where Col. Patterson's regiment was stationed. Four companies of artillery with, and one without field pieces, were also at Cambridge.

The right wing of the army, consisting of about 2000 Massachusetts, 2000 Connecticut, and 1000 R. I. troops, was at Roxbury, under command of Lieut. Gen. Thomas, who had with him three or four companies of artillery, with small field pieces, and one or two large cannon. He extended a portion of his troops towards the seaboard in Dorchester.

At Medford were about one thousand New Hampshire troops under Colonels Reed and Stark, and a detachment of the same

* Putnam headed his men on this attack up to his middle in mud and water.

N. H. Gaz. Jne. '75

troops with three companies of Gerrish's regiment at Chelsea, forming the left wing of the army. A large guard, part of Little's and other regiments, were stationed at Lechmere point, on the evening of 16th June.

All these troops were hardy, brave, and athletic. Almost every soldier would rival Tell as a marksman, and aim his weapon at an oppressor with as keen a relish. Those from the frontier had gained this address against the savages and beasts of the forest; the country abounded with game, all were familiar with hunting; and the amusement universal throughout New England was the trial of skill with the musket. These troops were also religious, and their respect for the opinions of the clergy unbounded. But the religion of their clergy was republican in its nature; they had the most lively antipathy to church establishments, and dread of royal oppression. To avoid the expense of chaplains, the clergy in the neighbourhood of the camp were invited by Congress to perform divine service, thirteen of them every sabbath; a request they punctually complied with. Three or four chaplains, however, were attached to the army,* and prayed with the troops every morning on the common.

The confidence of the army in their officers was implicit and, as it appears from the characters already described, richly merited. But, besides their superior officers, many of the subordinate officers and privates had served in the army in the war of '45 or of '56.

Their confidence was at present elevated to an excess by the recent and unexpected conquests, which their arms had accomplished. Besides the victory at Lexington, and successful skirmishes in the neighbourhood of Boston, they had just learned, that Arnold,† who had received a colonel's commission and troops from the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts, had, in alliance with other New England forces, achieved the important conquest of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. These troops were also sensible that they were fighting in their own cause, and were exalted into heroes by an ardent love of liberty, a maddening, indignant sense of oppression. This indignation burned with new fury from a recent proclamation of Gov. Gage, denouncing them all as rebels,

* Rev. Jos. Thaxter of Edgartown was one of them, who made an audible and eloquent prayer before an assembly of 20,000 at the celebration on 17. June last.

† Arnold came to Cambridge immediately after Lexington battle with an independent Conn. company, and offered his services for any dangerous enterprise, to the Com. of Safety.

and especially the proscribed patriots Hancock and Adams, their abettors, adherents, and associates.

Excepting these characteristics, however, they were deficient in almost every important requisite of an army. Their arms were wretchedly defective, and the bayonet almost universally wanting. They were strangers to discipline and almost to subordination. Though nominally organized into regiments, these were deficient in numbers, many of them only skeletons, and their respective ranks not ascertained. Some of these troops were yet serving as minutemen,* and the officers in a number of regiments were not commissioned. Tents were not provided, the commissariat, quarter-master's department, and staff were yet unorganized.† The several towns sent sufficient provisions to their troops, but with irregularity and waste.

Col. Gridley was appointed chief, and Wm. Burbeck second engineer; but the latter was attached to the ordnance department, and Gridley had no assistant engineers. It was impossible for him to supply this defect, and he was almost too old for service; but, if military science, skill, and experience could have overcome these difficulties, there was not an officer in America more capable of accomplishing it.

He was born in Boston, 1711, and brother of J. Gridley, "the giant of the law." Uncommon genius, improved by superior education, prepared him for an elevated standing. Apt and learned in every branch of mathematics; of romantic honor, chivalrous ambition, and adventurous bravery, nature made him a soldier; and art could not make him a merchant. The attempt was relinquished, and, like Washington, he employed himself as a practical surveyor and civil engineer. After the decease of his brother, who held the office, he was elected Grand Master of Masons. Military science he studied with enthusiasm and acquired with facility, and in '45 he commenced his military career.

Massachusetts raised an army of three thousand two hundred men, New Hampshire added three and Connecticut five

* Minute men were raised, by advice of a meeting of Boston patriots, as early as '72, and 29 Oct. '74 Mass. Congress enjoin on the militia to choose company officers, these field officers, the latter to enlist $\frac{1}{2}$ at least of their respective companies, and form into companies of not less than 50, who shall equip and be prepared at the shortest notice, officer themselves in the manner of the militia, the company officers to form battalions of 9 companies.

† John Pigeon was appointed Commissary; no deputies were appointed till 1. July. The first Adj. Gen. appointed was Wm. Henshaw on the 27th June. Sam'l Brewer was Adj. Gen. to Thomas.

hundred, to conquer the Island of Cape Breton. In this army he received the appointment of engineer and commander of the artillery. Under the instruction of Bastide, a distinguished engineer, he became at once an adept in his profession, and, like Archimedes, acquired celebrity in the war of sieges. With scientific accuracy he pointed the mortar which, on the third fire, threw a shell into the citadel of Louisbourg, one grand cause of its surrender, and the conquest of Cape Breton. He was rewarded by a captaincy in Gov. Shirley's regiment on the British establishment; peace left him on half pay, and in '52 he attended the governor to the Kennebeck, and erected forts Western and Halifax.

In '55 he again entered the service as chief engineer and colonel of infantry. In '56 he was commander of the provincial artillery, under Gen. Winslow, in the expedition against Crown Point, and proceeded to Lake George, where he erected fortifications. In '57 he sailed for Halifax, intended for Louisbourg, but the expedition was arrested by the French fleet. In '58 he revisited his earliest field of glory, and was at the second taking of Louisbourg, under Gen. Amherst. He had the superintendence of the ordnance stores, and was so distinguished in the siege, as were all the New England troops, that the general tendered him the valuable furniture of the governor's house, a present which, from chivalrous delicacy, he declined.

At the siege of Quebec, he enjoyed the distinguished honor of commanding the provincial artillery under the immortal Wolfe.* Gen. Amherst found it impossible to join the expedition; notwithstanding which, the audacious commander, seconded by Gridley and his other officers, determined to achieve the conquest without him. In the glorious battle, which ensued, Gridley proved himself worthy to fight by his side. Gridley's services were acknowledged and rewarded. The Magdalen islands with an extensive seal and cod fishery, and half pay as a British officer, were conferred on him. At the commencement of the revolution his British agent, by order of government, enquired to what party he devoted his services. His

* With the utmost difficulty two pieces only could be raised to the heights of Abraham; the grape shot from these made great havoc among the enemy.

Knox's Camp. in Amer.

The respectable intelligent children of Col. Gridley, from whom we derived most of our information concerning him, stated from recollection that he commanded these pieces.

magnanimous answer was, " he never drew his sword but in " the cause of justice, and such he considered to be his coun- " try's." His half pay ceased, and the arrears already due he had too much spirit to receive.

The British army in Boston, at the time of Lexington battle, were about four thousand, under Gen. Gage, the governor of Massachusetts. He had served with eclat in Europe and America, had married an American lady, was popular in the country, and disposed to moderate expedients, until he sacrificed his own judgment to the advice of violent partizans. By the last of May, large reinforcements arrived, and the whole consisted of the following regiments : the 4th, 5th, 10th, 14th, 3 companies of the 18th, 23d, 35th, 38th, 43d, 47th, 52d, 59th, 63d, 2 companies of the 65th, and the 67th. These amounted to about 10,000 troops, under Gens. Gage, Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, Pigot, Grant, and Robinson, Lords Percy and Rawdon ; Col. Abercrombie, Williams, and others ; the most distinguished officers and choicest troops of the British empire. The 52d, Royal Irish, and the 23d or Welsh fusileers,* had been the most signalized. There was also a squadron of cavalry, for whose use a house of God† was sacrilegiously assumed.

The light infantry were encamped on the heights of West Boston ; there was a strong battery for cannon and mortars on Copps Hill, facing Charlestown, and strong lines and batteries across the neck on the side of Roxbury ; a battery at the northern extremity of the town, another on Fort hill, one at Fox hill on the common, where the marines, artillery, and 6th Regt. were encamped, 3 on the western shore of the common facing Cambridge, where the Royal Irish were stationed, and there were troops at Barton's point.

The British were equally sanguine, and as confident of success as their enemy, for whom, as soldiers, they entertained a sovereign contempt. This opinion was nourished by their officers who had served with those of the provincials, when they were degraded below British officers of similar commissions, and the generals were allowed no rank with those of the mother country. They were confirmed in the same opinion from the ordinary arms and uncouth dress of the American troops,† worn by them unchanged from the plough or the workshop,

* Prince of Wales's Regt. From a tradition that a former Prince had ridden to England on a goat ; one, with gilded horns, was maintained by the corps, and they celebrated the anniversary of the feat.

† Old South.

† Many soldiers wore leather aprons on parade.

and the want of discipline and subordination which signalized their camp. They were also enthusiastic admirers of their government and constitution ; king and parliament they considered omnipotent, and the Americans ungrateful, unnatural rebels, on whom they burned to inflict exemplary punishment.

Their narrow quarters galled their pride ; Burgoyne declared they would have elbow room, and Gen. Gage proclaimed his mortification " that the Americans affected to hold the British army besieged." Notwithstanding the superior and increasing numbers of the foe, they determined to leave the town, and take Charlestown and Dorchester heights. The busy preparation had commenced to possess themselves of the latter on the 18th of June,* but the Americans before that provided other occupation for their arms.

The Americans were impatient to be led against the enemy. They were unable to appreciate the necessity of discipline, or to understand the unorganized state of the army in every department ; but the hardships and expense of service they sorely realized. Many of the officers were favourable to the wishes of the men. They had been used to the loose service of rangers, and could not weigh the requisitions of a regular army, and the country was growing dissatisfied with their inaction. Gen. Putnam, Col. Prescott, and other veterans, demanded that advantage should be taken of this disposition of the men. The utility of the frequent and successful skirmishes they had already engaged in was immense. They promised themselves still higher advantage from an affair more important, but short of a general engagement. They knew, that, could the enemy be induced to engage a formidable detachment, their inferiority with the musket would make them deeply rue any advantage they might gain, while it would convert our army into soldiers ; and these beneficial results would be doubled, could the Americans be covered by intrenchments. Putnam urged his favourite maxim, " the Americans are not at all afraid of their "heads, though very much afraid of their legs ; if you cover "these they will fight forever." Before the Council of War, in continual session, these arguments were under consideration.

The same momentous question had been debated in the Committee of Safety. They received information, from their emissaries, that the enemy intended to advance into the country, and possess themselves of the commanding heights of Charlestown and Dorchester. The necessity of anticipating them in a project so fatal to America for the purpose of pre-

* Burgoyne.

venting their advance into the country, destroying their shipping, and rendering the town too hot for them was strongly urged.

But this course was opposed by formidable, and almost insuperable difficulties. The army seemed called on to keep themselves rigidly on the defensive till they were better disciplined and prepared for battle ; and what was still more important, they had not gunpowder. There were eleven barrels only in the public depots, and but sixty seven in Massachusetts. These heights completely overlooked the town, and it was impossible for the enemy to suffer the Americans to keep them without the most desperate efforts ; and a general engagement. This and the cannonade they would be compelled to maintain to answer that of the enemy, (for if omitted it would betray their secret deficiency of powder) were entirely beyond their means. Gen. Pomeroy, however, took council of his courage, and with unbounded confidence in the skill of his countrymen " would " fight the enemy with but five cartridges a piece. He was " practised in hunting, and always brought home two, and " sometimes three deer, with but three charges of powder ; the " men had generally supplied themselves with powder as militia, and the public could easily make good their deficiency." To Ward and Warren's objection, that the enterprize would lead to a general engagement ; Putnam answered, " we will risk only 2000 men, we will go on with these and defend ourselves as long as possible, and, if driven to retreat, we are more active than the enemy and every stone wall shall be lined with their dead, and at the worst, suppose us surrounded and no retreat, we will set our country an example of which it shall not be ashamed, and teach mercenaries what men can do determined to live or die free." Warren walked the floor, leaned on his chair, " almost thou persuadest me, Gen. Putnam," said he ; " but I must still think the project rash ; if you execute it, however, you will not be surprised to find me by your side." " I hope not," said Putnam, " you are young, and your country has much to hope from you in council and the field ; let us who are old and can be spared begin the fray, there will be time enough for you hereafter, it will not soon be over."*

To encourage discipline and emulation, and brave the enemy, Putnam marched in face of them with all the troops from Cambridge to Charlestown, about the 10th of June. And about the same time, to support the policy of engaging the enemy in an

* Gen. Putnam's statement to his son.

affair, he reconnoitred the country with other officers. A position perfectly suited to their purpose, which does honour to their coup d'œil and military skill, they found in the fields of Charlestown, and examined minutely.*

By the direction of Gen. Ward, Col. Gridley and Col. Henshaw, accompanied by Mr. Devens, had examined this part of the country in May, and reported in favour of fortifying Prospect Hill first, Bunker Hill next, and lastly Breeds Hill.†

The settlement of Charlestown and the fields are situated on a peninsula, with Charles River on the south, and Mystic river on the north. It is eleven hundred yards across from north to south, and one mile forty three rods in length from east to west, at which extremity the two rivers approach each other, and form a neck of land but one hundred and thirty yards over. Breed's Hill, 62 feet high, is long, the eastern end rather steep, the western sinking gradually; the south side is very steep, and at the bottom of it was Charlestown. The north side is steep, and protected at the bottom by a small impassable slough; beyond this, north, is a tongue of land, 20 feet above Mystic River, which bounds it on the north. This tongue of land runs east parallel with Breed's to within two hundred and fifty yards of Morton's Hill. Morton's Hill, 35 feet in height, lies northeast from Breed's. The ground between the tongue of land and Breed's Hill, and beyond the eastern end of it and Morton's Hill was low and marshy. On part of this low land, however, were a number of brick kilns, and a sluice way by which the whole might be inundated at high tide, which on the 17th June was at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. The tongue of land at its western extremity terminates in Bunker Hill, which on this side has a considerable slope, and on all its other sides is exceedingly steep. It is 110 feet high, bears northwest from Breed's, which it completely commands; their summits being distant from each other one hundred and thirty rods only. A narrow road ran from the neck over Bunker Hill, between the tongue of land and Breed's Hill, and entirely round Breed's Hill, approaching very near its summit on the south.

Even the daring enterprise of Warren hesitated at the difficulties, apparently insurmountable, which opposed our taking and maintaining possession of the heights of Charlestown. But the Committee of Safety, of which he was chairman, and in which he opposed the measure, and the Council of War, adopted a different opinion. Like a genuine patriot, his own opinion

* Stephen Codman Esq. and Col. Putnam.

† Col. Henshaw.

was forgotten, and he joined heart and hand with his brethren to command success.

On the 15th of June, the Committee of Safety passed the following votes :

“Whereas this Committee lately applied to the Hon. the Congress of this colony, for an augmentation of the army now in the vicinity of Boston, and as some circumstances have since taken place, which strengthened the arguments then used in favour of the said augmentation ; particularly that many of the then expected reinforcements for Gen. Gage’s army are arrived ; that Gen. Gage has issued a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the inhabitants of Massachusetts are, in the most explicit manner, declared rebels ; and various accounts have been brought to this Committee of the movements of Gen. Gage’s army, and that he intends soon to make another attempt to penetrate into the country : From the consideration of all which premises, together with that of our army, Resolved, that the good and welfare of the colony requires that there be an immediate augmentation of said army, that such soldiers in the army as be destitute of arms be immediately supplied therewith, that such regiments of militia as be destitute of officers be immediately filled up, in such manner as the Honourable Congress may direct ; and that all the militia in the colony be ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march, on the shortest notice, completely equipped, having thirty rounds of cartridges per man ; all which is earnestly recommended to the immediate consideration of the Honourable Congress, now sitting in Watertown. To which the Committee would beg leave to add a general recommendation to the people, to go to meeting armed on the Lord’s day, in order to prevent being thrown into confusion.” On the same day they passed the following vote, which, for secrecy, was not recorded until the 19th of June :—“Whereas it appears of importance to the safety of this colony that possession of the hill called Bunker Hill, in Charlestown, be securely kept and defended, and also ~~somes~~ one hill or hills on Dorchester Neck be likewise secured, therefore resolved unanimously, that it be recommended to the Council of War that the above mentioned Bunker Hill be maintained by sufficient force being posted there ; and as the particular situation of Dorchester Neck is unknown to this Committee, they advise that the Council of War take and pursue such steps respecting the same, as to them shall appear to be for the security of this colony.” On the same day it was

ordered, " that Captain Benjamin White and Colonel Joseph Palmer be a committee to join with the committee from the Council of War, to proceed to the Roxbury camp, there to consult with the general officers on matters of importance, and to communicate to them a resolve this day passed, in this Committee, respecting Bunker Hill in Charlestown, and Dorchester Neck." The Provincial Congress prepared an eloquent and energetic answer to Gov. Gage's proclamation, to be issued on the 16th of June, in which Gov. Gage and Admiral Graves are excepted from the general amnesty, to respond to the proscription of Hancock and Adams ; but this paper contest was forgotten in the bloody battle which ensued.

THE BATTLE.

ON the 16th of June '75, the sun fell with its full force on the American camp,* the earth was parched up, but the vigorous frames and patriotic spirit of the soldiers were proof against its influence. With the advice of the Council of War, General Ward issued orders to Col. William Prescott, Col. Bridge, and the commandant of Frye's† regiment, to be prepared for an expedition, with all their men fit for service, and one day's provisions. The same order issued for one hundred and twenty of Gen. Putnam's regiment, and Capt. Gridley's company of artillery with two field pieces.

With these troops Col. Prescott was ordered to proceed to Charlestown in the evening, take possession of Bunker Hill, and erect the requisite fortifications to defend it. His orders were to be kept profoundly secret, and provisions and refreshments were to be sent in the morning, with as many more

* Gen. Ward's camp was the town of Cambridge and vicinity ; the soldiers were quartered in Colleges, and whatever buildings they could find to shelter them for a mile or two around, especially the country seats of refugees. The Episcopal church was used for barracks, and the organ pipes melted into bullets ; to our ancestors the whizzing of a ball against the enemy was more agreeable music than the profane strains of a church organ, they had quite as little respect for Episcopal churches as the enemy had for puritanical meeting houses.

† Col. Frye was ill with gout, Pres. of a Court Martial, and a much older officer than Prescott.

troops as should be necessary to reinforce him. Three of Bridge's companies did not join the detachment, but one or two small fatigue parties from other regiments joining, the whole amounted to about 1000 men.

They were assembled early in the evening and attended a solemn prayer on Cambridge Common, offered up by the Rev. President Langdon, of Harvard College.

Not an officer in the army could have been selected better deserving the honor of the appointment, or more able to execute the arduous enterprise, than Col. Prescott. In this veteran, age already began to display its ravages ; but the fire of his youth was undamped. He was of Pepperell, and early left in affluence by the decease of his father. He soon received a commission in the provincial army, and, with many of his neighbourhood, who enlisted, joined the forces under Gen. Winslow, and assisted in the conquest of Nova Scotia. His military talents attracted admiration, and he was urged by the British officers to accept a commission in the royal army. But he would not consent to be separated from his brave soldiers and countrymen, and returned to his estate. The soldiers, who had served under him, still continued to consider him their head. Like the chief of a feudal clan, he received them all with open doors at his hospitable mansion, and in the habits he had acquired in camps his property was expended for their relief, comfort, or entertainment, as freely as they were ready on every occasion to shed their blood under his command. He was now a member of the Mass. Congress.

His figure was tall and commanding, and his countenance grave, ardent, and impressive as his character. With this presence, and his formidable sword, he needed no uniform to distinguish him as a leader. In a simple calico frock he headed the detachment which left camp at dark, and proceeded to Charlestown. Col. Prescott led the way with two sergeants, having dark lanterns open only to the rear, about six paces in front of the troops.

Gen. Putnam, having the principal direction and superintendence of the expedition, and the chief engineer, Col. Gridley, accompanied the detachment. Putnam's eldest son was a Capt. under him ; his youngest, only 16 years old, a volunteer, tells us, " At sunset my father said to me, ' you will go to Mrs. Inman's to-night as usual ; stay there to-morrow, and if they find it necessary to leave town, you must go with them.' — From this order, and attending circumstances, I knew there was to be a military movement, in which my father would par-

ticipate. My imagination figured him as mangled with wounds, and no one to aid him; and I earnestly entreated permission to accompany him. 'You, dear father,' I said, 'may need my assistance much more than Mrs. Inman, pray let me go where you are going.' 'No, no, Daniel, do as I have bid you,' was the reply, which he affected to give sternly, while, his voice faltered and his eyes filled, as if entering into my feelings, he added, 'You can do little, my son, where I am going, and there will be enough to take care of me.' " His son reluctantly obeyed.

Profound mystery hung over the object of the expedition till they crossed Charlestown neck and found the wagons loaded with intrenching tools, fascines, gabions, and empty hogheads.

The officers were hastening to order arms to be stacked, and the fortifications commenced, when a most serious confusion arose as to the point to be fortified. None of the heights excepting Bunker's were yet distinguished by name, and this was expressly designated as the one to be fortified; though the most commanding and defensible position, it was too far from the enemy to annoy their army and shipping; Breed's Hill was far better adapted to the important objects of the expedition, and better suited the adventurous spirit of the commanding officers. Their most invaluable moments were wasted without coming to a conclusion, though the wary and scientific engineer again and again urged them to determine at once on the ground, or it would be impossible to complete the requisite fortifications.*

Breed's Hill was at length concluded on, and Gridley laid out the works immediately with skill which would honor any engineer in the highest advance of military science. The redoubt on the summit of the hill was about eight rods square. The strongest side, or front, in form of a redan, faced Charlestown, protecting the south side of the hill. The eastern side commanded a very extensive field, and a breastwork ran in a line with it north down to the ~~skough~~ between the south end

* Gov. Brooks's statement.

Mass. Congress, in the hurry of the times, say, Breed's Hill was taken by mistake. There could be no mistake. Putnam, as we know from his son and Stephen Codman Esq.,—and Gridley, as we know from Col. Henshaw,—had previously reconnoitred the ground. That Bunker Hill was ordered to be fortified is certain from Gov. Brooks and the vote copied from the records of Cong. on our 17th page. Congress meant to say, delicately, the order to fortify Bunker Hill was not complied with.

of the breastwork and the redoubt was a narrow passage way or sally port, protected in front by a blind, and an open passage way in the north side of the redoubt. It was determined, at the same time, that a work should be erected on Bunker Hill as a new post and rallying point to resort to, should the enemy drive them from the first, and for the protection of the rear.

A large guard, Capt. Maxwell and his company, some Connecticut and other troops were detached to the shore of Charlestown to observe every movement of the enemy.*

The works marked out, tools were distributed to the men ; but midnight arrived before the first spade entered the ground.† These brawny yeomen, however, were working for their lives as well as their liberties, and performed prodigies of labour. They were instructed and stimulated by Putnam, Prescott, and other officers, among whom was Maj. Brooks, distinguished by the well deserved confidence of the army. Just entered on manhood, he relinquished a lucrative profession, commenced his military career at the battle of Lexington, as Maj. of Bridge's regiment, and received the same rank in the army. He had been called home by sickness in his family, and received no order to march with his regiment ; but the danger of his fellow soldiers was a sufficient summons, and he hastened to join his corps, which he overtook at the neck.

It was clear starlight, and the proximity of the enemy demanded vigilant observation. Col. Prescott proceeded to the shore with Maj. Brooks to reconnoitre them. Every thing was quiet ; they distinctly heard the enemy relieving guard, and were rejoiced at the welcome cry from the sentries, however unfounded, " All's well !"

The men quietly at their labours, Gen. Putnam repaired to his camp to prepare for the anticipated crisis, by bringing on reinforcements, and to be fresh mounted ; his furious riding required a frequent change of horses.

Watchful as Argus, Prescott could hardly imagine that the enemy were so negligent of military caution, as to suffer his powerful force to approach their very threshold unobserved. He advanced anew to examine their situation ; again all was quiet, and the guard from the shore of Charlestown was ordered in.

The blazing sun, however, began his approaches, and the grey of the morning was dissipated. The veil was lifted

* The countersign this night was " Domingo."
† Mass. Cong.

from the astonished eyes of the British, but they would hardly credit their senses on perceiving their daring enemy above them, overlooking their position, with formidable works, which had sprung up as if by enchantment. The cannon of the Lively opened on the Americans, and roused their countrymen from secure repose, to participate in the same surprise and astonishment.

Gen. Gage was thunderstruck at the unwelcome information, and sent an immediate summons to his officers to meet him in a council of war.*

Some other frigates, floating batteries, the Somerset line of battle ship, a formidable battery of the heaviest pieces, and a mortar on Copps Hill, opened a tremendous fire on the Americans, sufficient to appal even veteran troops.

This fire was for some time without effect, but the men venturing in front of the works, one of them was killed by a cannon shot.† A subaltern informed Col. Prescott, and inquired of him what should be done. "Bury him," he was told.—"What," said the astonished officer, "without prayers!" A chaplain, who was present, insisted on performing service over this first victim, and collected many of the soldiers around him, heedless of peril. Prescott ordered them to disperse; but religious enthusiasm prevailing, the chaplain again collected his congregation, when the deceased was ordered to be taken and buried in the ditch. At this time a number of the men went off and never returned.

To dispel the terror which this death occasioned, Prescott mounted on the works, and directed the labor. Heedless of all the fire of the enemy, he was wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and transferred his own exaltation into every private under him. Owing to the oppressive heat, and the vehemence of his address, his bald head was exposed entirely uncovered, waving his sword, he sometimes upbraided his men in anger, and sometimes encouraged them with approbation and humour. Perfectly understanding his countrymen, they were entirely under his control; the great Suwarrow was never more negligent of his personal appearance, and never inspired his faithful followers with a confidence more implicit or better deserved.

Gen. Gage, reconnoitring the enemy, handed his telescope to Willard, a mandamus counsellor, and inquired of him, "who

* In the old State house.

† Pollard, of Billerica.

"is that officer commanding?" He instantly recognized *his brother-in-law, Col. Prescott.* "Will he fight?" asked Gage. "Yes, sir, depend upon it, to the last drop of blood in him, "but I cannot answer for his men," was the reply.

When the patriotic priest found that his professional services were out of place, he bravely buckled on the armor of flesh, volunteered as a soldier in the ranks, and fought with distinguished bravery.*

The sufferings of the men were great; the heat was excessive; during a sleepless night they had unremittingly labored, without even water, and their small stock of provisions was exhausted. Their officers felt for them, and wished Col. Prescott to send to Cambridge a request to be relieved. He convened a council of war, but instantly crushed the slightest hope of a relief. "The enemy would not dare attack them, and if "they did would be defeated. The men who had raised the "works were the best qualified to defend them. They had all "ready learned to despise the fire of the enemy. They had "the merit of the labor, and should enjoy the honor of the "victory." With renewed ardor the men continued their labors.

Capt. Nutting with some troops was ordered into Charlestown, near the ferry, by Col. Prescott, to guard against the enemy's approach on that side.

Gen. Gage met his officers in council. They did not hesitate as to the indispensable necessity of driving the enemy from their formidable position, but found it impossible to agree on the mode of attack. Gen. Clinton and Gen. Grant advocated attacking the enemy in rear. "Their men could embark at the "bottom of the common in boats, land at Charlestown Neck, "under protection of a fire from the floating batteries and friend-gates, and would have the enemy in their power;" and this appeared to be the prevailing opinion. But Gen. Gage would not adopt a measure so adventurous. It was perhaps opposed to well founded military rules and the dictates of prudence. They would have exposed themselves between two armies, one of them superior to their own in number, and the other strongly posted and fortified; they might have been attacked in front and rear, and been completely surrounded indeed, without the possibility of a retreat being secured to them in case of disaster. It was finally determined to land and attack the enemy in front.

* Rev. Jno. Martin, see note H.

At daybreak Putnam directed Lieut. Clark to send to Gen. Ward for a horse. The lieut. went himself, but the general's impatience could not await an answer. On his return he found him mounted and departing. The summons from the Lively had frustrated his intention of carrying on the reinforcement himself; he reminded Gen. Ward, however, that the fate of the expedition depended on his being reinforced immediately, according to the preconcerted plan, and flew to join his men on the hill.

The result of Gage's council of war soon became apparent. The enemy were observed moving with rapidity through the streets of Boston; a corps of dragoons, manoeuvring within view of the Americans, suddenly galloped off their parade ground;* the rattling of artillery carriages and wagons was heard, and every note of preparation for a military movement. Prescott, then believing the enemy would hazard an attack, was delighted; "Now, my boys, we shall have a fight, and shall beat them too," he observed. Fearless himself, he thought the world so too, and his confidence was too implicit in the raw troops and inexperienced commanders just collecting only, and hardly to be considered an army.

It was nine o'clock; the men were exhausted from hunger, thirst, fatigue, and want of sleep. Putnam had again repaired to Cambridge to procure provisions and a reinforcement become indispensable, but neither one nor the other had arrived. Col. Prescott called another council of war; he refused, as before, to hear a word about displacing his men, but consented to send again for refreshments and a reinforcement. Maj. Brooks was selected to proceed to Cambridge and wait on Gen. Ward for this purpose. For greater expedition he was directed to take one of the artillery horses, but the order was vehemently opposed by Capt. Gridley, who feared for the safety of his pieces. Prescott then directed him to proceed on foot, with as much despatch as possible. He arrived at head quarters about 10, and made known his instructions to Ward. The general hesitated as to the policy of sending reinforcements to Charlestown, and doubted whether the intention of the enemy was to make his attack on that point. The scanty depots of ammunition, ordnance stores, and materiel of every species belonging to the army, on which the salvation of the country depended, were at Cambridge and Watertown, and he presumed the ene-

* The scite of the present Hospital.

any designed to seize the present opportunity to make an attack at head quarters and gain possession of these stores.

The Committee of Safety were sitting at the same house* in which the general quartered, and he communicated to them the information and request brought by Maj. Brooks.—Richard Devens,† of Charlestown, was one of the committee ; from deep anxiety for the success of the expedition and the protection of his native town from the inroad of the enemy, his importunity with the general and the committee for an ample reinforcement was impassioned and vehement, and his opinion partially prevailed ; the committee recommended a reinforcement, and the general consented that orders should be despatched immediately to Cols. Reed and Stark, at Medford, to join Prescott's detachment with the New Hampshire troops.

Gen. Warren, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, was present. The day before he had officiated as President of Congress at Watertown, and had passed the night there in the accumulated concerns of the public. His friend, Hon. Elbridge Gerry, having learned the determination to occupy and fortify Bunker Hill, remonstrated with him against the glaring imprudence of the enterprize, with our feeble resources. “ We had “ not powder sufficient to maintain the desperate conflict which “ must ensue, and should all be cut to pieces.” Warren confessed he entertained the same opinion ; but it was determined otherwise, and he was resolved to share the fate of his countrymen. His friend conjured him not to expose his invaluable life where his destruction would be useless and inevitable. “ I know it,” said the hero, “ but I live within sound of the “ cannon, and should die were I to remain at home while my “ fellow citizens are shedding their blood for me.” “ As “ sure as you go, you will be slain,” repeated Gerry. Warren's final answer was, “ Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.”† He arrived at Cambridge by daylight, sick with nervous headache, and threw himself on the bed. On receiving information that the enemy were coming out, Ward sent to notify him. He arose immediately, declared “ his headache was gone,” and after meeting with the Committee of Safety, mounted his horse, and with his fusil and sword repaired to the post of danger.

At eleven, the New Hampshire troops received orders from Cambridge ; but not being provided with ammunition, were quite

* Now Dr. Holmes's house.

† Devens, afterward commissary general, mounted an officer's horse, and used his pistols to press teams to carry on provisions, but the British cannon prevented their arriving.

‡ Senior Pres. Adams.

unprepared to obey them. Every man was immediately supplied with two flints, and a gill of powder with fifteen balls to form into cartridges, but nearly all of them were destitute of cartridge boxes, employing powder-horns only ; and scarcely any two of their guns agreeing in calibre, they were obliged to hammer their balls to a proper size for the pieces. The companies posted at Chelsea, were immediately recalled.

About noon, at the long wharf in Boston, twenty eight barges were filled with the principal part of the first detachment of British troops, consisting of the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions of infantry, ten companies of grenadiers, and ten of Lt. Infantry. Some of these troops were taken from the transports, and were to land now for the first time since their voyage, not like Antæus to gather new strength from the earth, but to shed their life's blood on her bosom. The barges formed in two parallel lines of single files, six resplendent pieces of cannon, and howitzers in the bows of the leading boats, with the gorgeous uniform, and brilliant armour of the troops, throwing back the splendour of the sun, as if in rivalry : they move in exact time and perfect order, and about one, land at Morton's point ; the novel and alarming spectacle filling the Americans with dismay.

Immediately on landing they discovered a disastrous mistake, most of the cannon balls sent over, were too large for the pieces ; they were immediately sent back, and a new supply obtained. At the same time, Gen. Howe, the commander, discovering on his near approach the formidable nature of the enemy's position, their present numbers and the troops marching on, requested a reinforcement of Gen. Gage. These first troops, while waiting for the remainder of the detachment, were entirely unmolested, and very quietly dined, most of them for the last time, from their crowded and cumbrous knapsacks. About two, the remainder of the forces leave Winnisimit ferry, in the same formidable array of barges, and land at Morton's Point ; and soon afterward the reinforcements, a few companies of grenadiers and light infantry, the forty seventh battalion, a battalion of marines, except a few of this corps who were preparing to embark, land under the eastern end of Breed's Hill, at Madan's shipyard, the present navyyard. All these troops cannot be estimated at less than five thousand ; if the corps were but half full, there were four thousand three hundred and fifty. While the enemy were landing, Putnam ordered Capt. Knowlton, with the Connecticut troops, to take post behind a rail fence, which ran across the tongue of land, from Mystic river to the road, about two hundred and fifty yards. In front of this line of fence, were some

apple-trees, and a few also in the rear. These troops pulled up the neighbouring fences, and placing them near the one at which they were posted, threw in the new mown grass between. A small part of this fence, had stones under the rails, to the height of two feet ; the whole formed only the shadow of a protection. This rail fence was 190 yards in rear of the breast-work, and 80 yards in rear of the slough, leaving a very extensive opening between the breastwork and rail fence, by which the left flank of the troops at the breastwork was exposed to the enemy's fire, and about 100 yards between the slough and rail fence, open to the advance of infantry ; the only defence being a few standing trees, stones, or whatever could be found on the spot. This was the key of the American position.

The detachments in Charlestown were now recalled by Prescott, and took post at a cart way, which ran from the road to the southeastern angle of the redoubt. They placed the fences together, and threw in grass, as was done on the left.

The thundering cannonade of the enemy soon spread the information of an approaching engagement. The Americans in the neighbourhood flocked to the scene, and the soldiers voluntarily ran to arms, and entreated to be led against the foe. Col. Little's regiment had lately arrived from Essex and the officers were not commissioned ; without awaiting orders, they left their quarters in Menotomy and Cambridge, marched to Gen. Ward and tendered their services. The Connecticut troops were equally anxious to join their general ; they were all under arms, and sent to head quarters for orders. But Ward informed them, they had already the post of honor, as the British were expected to land near Inman's farm, their present position. The brave New Hampshire troops, at the same post, under Col. Sargent, were also as earnest to be led against the enemy, and the Col. sent the most pressing requests to Ward for permission to conduct them on.

Capt. Callender with his artillery company was ordered to the Hill, and, for greater caution, Gardner's Regiment was marched to Patterson's station, at the opening of the road to Lechmere Point, there to wait further orders. Doolittle's Regiment had been stationed on the Charlestown road the night before, and was a little in advance of them.

Prescott had stretched the endurance and exertions of his detachment to the utmost of the human constitution. They had thrown up a defence good against muskets, and most of it against artillery. But the commanding summit of Bunker Hill, of vital importance in case of a retreat, was not yet fortifi-

ed, though Putnam, mortified at the neglect of a position on which his success and reputation depended, had been incessant and unwearied in his efforts to have it accomplished ; but in vain, as no reinforcements arrived. At length he ordered off a large detachment from the Redoubt with the intrenching tools to break ground there. From experience, under the most distinguished masters of the day, he perfectly comprehended the importance of intrenching, seemed to have seized intuitively the learned maxims of Cæsar, and to anticipate the result of such modern defences as Jackson's. Most of the detachment, ordered off with the tools, never returned to the lines.

Putnam, on perceiving the preparations of the enemy for an attack, again hastened to Cambridge for reinforcements, and had to pass through a galling enfilading fire of round, bar, and chain shot, which thundered across the neck from the Glasgow frigate in the channel of Charles River, and two floating batteries hauled close to the shore. He learned from Gen. Ward the orders which had been sent to the New Hampshire troops at Medford, and immediately returned to his post.

At last, the New Hampshire troops arrived ; it was the policy of Stark to march his men slowly, observing, that "one "fresh man in battle is better than ten fatigued ones." Putnam reserved a part of this force to throw up the work on Bunker Hill, and ordered the remainder to press on to the lines as quick as possible, and join the Connecticut troops at the rail fence. Stark encouraged them by a short, spirited address, ordered three cheers to animate them, and they moved on rapidly to the line.

The intention of the enemy being now clearly pronounced by their landing in Charlestown, Gen. Ward, reserving still his own regiment, Putnam's, Sargent's, Patterson's, Gardner's and part of Bridge's, from his excessive caution lest an attack should be made at Cambridge, despatched the remainder of the troops* as a reinforcement to Charlestown. The enemy directed a schooner, with 5 or 600 men on board, to the Cambridge shore, as if aware of this tender point ; but the wind and tide proving unfavorable to this landing, they returned.†

Near five thousand British troops had now landed, under the immediate command of Gen. Howe, distinguished, like all his

* Gen. Ward had a hogshead of rum before his quarters, which was served to the soldiers before they left the common. By a resolve of Mass. Congress, spirit could be allowed the men by a Gen. officer only, and on extraordinary occasions.

† Col. P. D. Sargent.

family, for undaunted bravery. Under him were Gen. Pigot, Cols. Nesbit, Abercrombie, Clarke ; Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairn, Short, Small and Lord Rawdon, all officers of renown. The troops were in columns, waiting the signal to advance. They and the enemy opposed to them, were in a vast amphitheatre of nature, formed by those lofty hills which rise from Boston bay and surrounded them. These towering heights overlooked both armies, and were covered by Americans, who had been brought from a distance, by their anxious curiosity, to witness a scene so sublime, and learn the event of a contest, on which the fate of a new world depended ; and many of them from a deeper interest in the fate of a parent, a brother or husband engaged. The heights and the steeples in Boston were crowded in the same manner, by the inhabitants and the British military ; and many a soldier's wife witnessed the events, with a melancholy foreboding that she was left a widow, and her home three thousand miles across the ocean. The prospect was rendered still more terrific by a tremendous cannonade and bombardment from Boston, which opened on the camp at Roxbury to contain the Americans at their post, who were there under arms. This, added to the continued roar of the batteries and shipping on the side of Charlestown, and the battle was commencing. The whole formed a scene beyond the reach of the human imagination.

The British artillery on Morton's Hill opened on the Americans ; Col. Prescott ordered the men to keep under cover of the works, but Lieut. Spaulding standing by his side, had his head completely shattered by a ball. Gridley's pieces which had fired a few useless shot from the redoubt against Copps Hill and the shipping, were now ordered out ; there were no embrasures, and the slight platform was broken. They were carried with Callender's to the space between the breastwork and rail fence, and returned the fire of the British, which served at least the important purpose of keeping the enemy in respect, who secured themselves under the eastern side of Morton's Hill. The artillery companies were just enlisted from the infantry, and grossly ignorant of their duty ; this arm requires science, experience, and knowledge of position. The officers complained that their cartridges were unsuitable for the pieces ; Gridley drew off his to the rear, one of them being already disabled in the unequal contest with the British batteries and field pieces ; and Callender was marching off over Bunker Hill to a secure place for preparing his ammunition in

safety, when Putnam met him and was fired with indignation at this appearance of a retreat. He ordered him instantly to his post ; Callender remonstrated, but Putnam threatened him with instant death if he hesitated, and compelled him to return. His men, however, were disgusted with a part of the service they did not understand ; most of them had muskets, and mingled with the infantry ; the pieces were entirely deserted and left on Bunker Hill, from which position they were fired a few times on the enemy.

Col. Little arrived with his troops ; Putnam ordered them to their posts, Captain Warner's company to the rail fence on the right of the redoubt, Captain Perkins' to the exposed position between the breastwork and rail fence on the left, the remainder found their places in the line. Col. Jonathan Brewer, who had been a ranger in the French war ; Col. Nixon, who had served in the same war ; Col. Woodbridge ; and Maj. Moore of Doolittle's Regiment, the Col. and Lieut. Col. being absent,—brought on their troops, each about 300 men. Col. Woodbridge sent a detachment off to the right, in the main street of Charlestown, and carried orders to Maj. Moore to do the same, who accordingly sent one under Capt. Wheeler. Col. Reed sent a detachment also, under Capt. Crosby.

Col. Scammans, with a large Regiment from Maine,* was ordered by Gen. Ward to go where the fighting was ;† he accordingly marched to Lechmere point, understanding from some one on the Charlestown road that the enemy were landing there. On his arrival, he was undeceived by Gen. Whitcomb, who advised him to march to the Hill. From an egregious error, or deficiency of spirit, he went to Cobble Hill instead of Breed's, and took post in that perfectly useless position.‡

The veteran Gen. Pomeroy heard the pealing artillery, which seemed to invite him to battle ; he was a soldier too brave, and a patriot too ardent, to resist a summons so agreeable. He requested a horse of Gen. Ward, to carry him to the field ; delighted at an aid so important, one was instantly supplied. With his musket, he repaired immediately to the

* Whom he called "Yorkshire Boys." He came from Saco, but, before this, had belonged to Haverhill.

† Jer. Hill, Esq. of Saco, heard the order.

‡ Lieut. Morgan Lewis belonged to this Regt. since then a Gen. of the army in the late war, and Gov. of the State of New York.

neck ; inquiring of a sentry posted there, and viewing the ground and the tremendous fire across, he was alarmed, not for himself but for the horse he had borrowed ; he delivered him to a sentinel, and coolly marched across. He advanced to the rail fence, his approach gave new confidence to the men ; they received him with the highest exultation, and the name of Pomeroy rang through the line. In early life he had been an ingenious mechanic, and many a soldier was supplied with arms of his manufacture. Had Vulcan supplied the Greeks with armor, and appeared in their ranks, they could not have been more certain of victory.

The British now formed their columns, with their field train in centre, ready to advance on the American line.

Capt. Ford arrived with his company. He served under the veteran Lieut. Col. Parker and Maj. Brooks, had learned the duties of a soldier, and signalized himself in Lexington battle by killing five of the enemy. He was proceeding down Bunker Hill, when Putnam met him and was delighted with an aid so opportune ; Callender's deserted cannon were on the hill, and he ordered Capt. Ford with his company to draw them to the line. The captain remonstrated that " his men were " entirely ignorant of the discipline and management of artillery." But the general persisting in his order, he obeyed ; his company moved with the cannon, accompanied by the general himself, to the rail fence.

Putnam was now joined by Warren, to whom he observed, " I'm sorry to see you here, Gen. Warren. I wish you had " left the day to us, as I advised you, from appearances we " shall have a sharp time of it ; but since you are here, I'll " receive your orders with pleasure." Warren replied : " I " came only as a volunteer ; I know nothing of your dispositions, and will not interfere with them ; tell me where I can " be most useful." Putnam, intent on his safety, directed him to the redoubt, observing, " you will be covered there."—" Don't think," said Warren, " I come here to seek a place of " safety ; but tell me where the onset will be most furious."—Putnam again pointed to the redoubt ; " that," said he, " is the " enemy's object, Prescott is there, and will do his duty, and " if it can be defended, the day is ours ; but, from long experience " of the character of the enemy, I think they will ultimately " succeed and drive us from the works, though, from the " mode of attack they have chosen, we shall be able to do them " infinite injury, and we must be prepared for a brave and or- " derly retreat when we can maintain our ground no longer."

Warren assented to his opinions, and, promising to be governed by them, went to the redoubt. The soldiers received him with loud hurras. Prescott offered him the command ; but he had not yet received his commission, and tendered his services to the Col. as a volunteer, observing, " He was happy to learn " service from a soldier of experience."*

The field-pieces of the enemy opened furiously† on the works, the signal for their army to move. Their columns advanced slowly, and halted at intervals, to give the artillery an opportunity to render a passage over the works practicable.† Howe, remarkably tall, and a prominent mark, advanced two hundred yards in front of the troops to reconnoitre.||

The American drums beat to arms. Putnam left his works, commenced on Bunker Hill, and led the troops into action. The tune of the Americans at Bunker Hill was Yankee Doodle, it was now first employed by them, but was to become their favourite national air, and the far-famed harbinger of victory on the land, the lake, and the ocean.†

Capt. Walker,§ one of the bravest of the brave, beat up for volunteers to accompany him down into Charlestown to hang on the left flank of the enemy. He had been detailed for guard duty the day before, and his company had been sent on without him under the Lieut. The picket guard, of which he was the commander, had not been relieved on the day of the battle, and he could not brook the misfortune of being drawn for a place of safety, when his country required his services in the place of death. He made use of the most earnest persuasions with his Lieut. by repeated messengers, to exchange places with him, till at length he succeeded. He now collected about 50 kindred spirits, whom he led down as a forlorn hope on the enemy's left, and gave them five or six rounds with the most deadly execution. But the little desperate band were soon driven in with severe loss. The Capt. however escaped, and was determined to tempt fate again by another daring attack on the opposite flank of the enemy. He had the sagacity to discover the danger of their turning our left, by the shore of the Mystic, and changed his attack to that quarter ; but was wounded and taken prisoner with Frost, one of his company,

* This conversation we have from Col. Putnam, and most of it likewise from Dr. Jeffries, to whom it was related by Lieut. Col. Parker, dressed by him at the redoubt, the next day, on a fascine.

† Stedman, Marshall, Gage, and all authorities.

‡ Note K. || Dr. Jeffries. § Of Chelmsford.

who was very badly wounded at the same time. They were carried to Boston jail, where the Capt. died of his wounds ; but Frost has escaped through all his perils, and yet *lives to tell us.**

The British right wing, consisting of the fifth regiment, one of grenadiers, and another of light infantry, move under cover of the tongue of land, at the foot of it display, and advance in front toward the rail fence ; excepting nine of the light companies, who move by the right flank on the shore of the Mystic to turn the American left. This attack was led by Gen. Howe.†

The left wing, composed of the fifty-second regiment, thirty-eighth, thirty-fifth, forty-seventh, three grenadier and three light companies, and the marines, under cover of Breed's Hill, display, and are led by Gen. Pigot against the redoubt and breastwork.

On a sudden, as they were advancing, the fire from their artillery ceased ; Howe sent to inquire into the cause of this ill-timed remission, and learned, that owing to a fatal blunder, the cannon-balls sent over, were too large for the pieces ; but that they had grape-shot ; and he ordered them forward to maintain their fire with grape.‡

The British lines soon opened to view, and the American marksmen are with difficulty restrained from firing. Putnam rode through the line, and ordered that no one should fire till they arrived within eight rods, nor any one till commanded. " Powder was scarce and must not be wasted. They should not fire at the enemy till they saw the whites of their eyes, " and then fire low, take aim at their waistbands. They were all marksmen, and could kill a squirrel at a hundred yards ; " reserve their fire, and the enemy were all destroyed. Aim at the handsome coats, pick off the commanders." The same orders were reiterated by Prescott at the redoubt, by Pomeroy, Stark, and all the veteran officers.

* Col. James Varnum, now of Dracutt, a serjeant in Coburn's company, was one of the volunteers with Walker on his first attack, and had the top of his hat shot off, and two bullets through his jacket. See Note L.

† *De Bernier's, Conduct of the War by Howe, and all authorities.*

At this time, in front of the cannon, the air was filled with innumerable swallows. Another sight at this time was most tantalizing to the parched lips of the Americans--the enemy were supplied with large tubs of drink to prepare them for the onset.

‡ *Conduct of the War, by Howe, p. 13.*

Putnam now, with the assistance of Captain Ford's company, opened his artillery upon them. He had on this day performed every species of service, and now turned cannonier, with splendid success, and to the highest satisfaction of his countrymen. Each company of artillery had but twelve cartridges, and these were soon expended. He pointed the cannon himself, the balls took effect on the enemy, and one case of canister made a lane through them. As in Milton's battle,

"Foul dissipation followed and forced rest."

With wonderful courage, however, the enemy closed their ranks, and coolly marched on to the attack.

The enemy were within gunshot of the redoubt ; a few of the sharp shooters could not resist the temptation and fired.— Prescott was indignant at this contempt of his orders ; waving his sword, he swore instant death against the first who should disobey ; appealed to their well-known confidence in him, and promised to give them orders at the proper moment. His Lt. Col. Robinson, who, with Col. Buttrick, had gallantly led the troops at Concord, ran round the top of the parapet, and threw up the muskets.

The enemy now at eight rods distance only, the deadly muskets were levelled. Prescott commanded his men to take good aim, be sure of their mark, and fire. He was effectually obeyed. Nearly the whole front rank was swept away, and many a gallant officer laid low.

As the cloud of smoke passed away, the ground was seen covered with dead, and the wounded and dying exerting their last, feeble remains of strength to crawl out of the line, many on their hands and knees, to save themselves. The enemy, however, were countrymen of those who gave the fire, and received it with the same cool courage with which it was given. Rank succeeded rank, and returned the fire, but the odds was fearful ; the Americans were well protected by the works ; the efforts and courage of the enemy were in vain, and with surly reluctance they were at last compelled to retreat, as they were commanded to do by Gen. Pigot himself.*

Warren animated and encouraged the men, and with the rest of the officers, set them an example with his musket ; there was scarcely an officer of any rank, excepting Putnam and Prescott, without one.

* *Conduct of the War by Gen. Howe, p. 13.*

The British right wing arrived, about the time of this attack on the redoubt to within one hundred yards of the Americans. They were throwing down a fence,* when a few marksmen fired on them. Putnam was enraged at this disobedience of an order on which the salvation of the army depended ; he rode to the spot, with his drawn sword threatening to cut down the first who dared to fire again without orders. The discharge from these few muskets, however, drew the fire from the enemy's line,† which continued moving on, and when about eight rods from the fence, the fatal order was given ; the fire of the Americans mowed them down, with the same terrible severity, as at the redoubt, the officers especially fell victims to their deadly aim.

During this tremendous fire of musketry and roar of cannon, McClary's gigantic voice was distinctly heard, animating and encouraging the men as though he would inspire every ball that sped, with his own fire and energy.

The British fired their heaviest volleys of musketry with admirable coolness and regularity, but without aim, at the Americans, and almost every ball passed harmless over them. Their artillery had stopped in the marsh near the brick kilns,‡ and produced little effect. This wing of the army having covered the ground with their dead, were at length compelled to retreat ; and the hurra of victory re-echoed through the American line. So thorough was the defeat of the enemy, that many of them repaired to their boats. Fortunately for the Americans, the enemy neglected to charge with the bayonet ; if, instead of displaying and firing, they had filled the intervals between their columns with light troops to keep the Americans under the works by an incessant, fire and rushed on at the charge, they must have secured an easy victory, especially as the Americans almost to a man were destitute of the bayonet.

General Ward had by this time despatched reinforcements from Cambridge, but many of them did not reach the field. The fire across the neck wore an aspect too terrific for raw troops to venture in it. Putnam flew to the spot to overcome their fears and hurry them on before the enemy returned. He

* The fences were a formidable obstacle to the enemy's advance, a very great portion of the housekeepers in Charlestown having separate pastures here.

† Dr. Dexter.

‡ These were numerous, for the sake of employing the poor of Boston and Charlestown, and doubtless prevented the advance of the cannon.

entreating, encouraged, and threatened them ; lashing his horse with the flat of his sword, he rode backwards and forward across the neck, the balls threw up clouds of dust about him, and the soldiers were perfectly convinced that he was invulnerable, but were not equally conscious of being so themselves.* Some of these troops, however, ventured over.

The battalion of artillery under Maj. Gridley had proceeded but a few hundred yards down the road to Charlestown when they were halted, and this officer determined not to proceed to the hill, but wait and cover the retreat, which he considered inevitable. He was young, inexperienced, and totally inadequate to the important command which had been conferred on him in compliment to his father, Col. Gridley. He was confounded with the dangers and difficulties of his situation, and never recovered his self possession during the day. With his two famous brass pieces, which alone had horses attached to them, he advanced farther down the road. While the artillery was halted in this situation, Col. Frye, (who was absent from his regiment on duty the day before, but the battle approaching, had found his way to the field,) riding from Charlestown galloped up to them, and demanded of the senior captain,† " why this unseasonable halt !" He was astonished at the reply, and ordered them instantly to the field. This veteran also animated their courage by the glorious recollection " this day thirty " years since, I was at the taking of Louisbourg when it was " surrendered to us ; it is a fortunate day for America, we " shall certainly beat the enemy."

The artillery proceeded. Gridley joined them ; but his aversion to entering into the engagement was invincible, and he ordered them on to Cobble Hill to fire at the Glasgow and floating batteries. The order was so palpably absurd, with their three pounders, that Capt. Trevett absolutely refused obedience, ordered his men to follow him, and marched for the lines. Gridley was sensible his artillery would be hazarded without infantry to cover them. Col. Mansfield had been ordered with his regiment to reinforce the troops at Charlestown, but being peremptorily commanded by Gridley, whom he considered high military authority, to cover his pieces, he complied in violation of his orders.

* The principal fact here is proved by the deposition of Mr. Samuel Bassett ; the other circumstances by oral testimony.

† Capt. Trevett, from whom we have this account.

Putnam left the neck for Bunker Hill, to bring up the reinforcements. He there found Col. Gerrish with part of his regiment and other scattered troops. Gerrish had been a captain in the provincial army of '56, and was unwieldy from excessive corpulence ; the fatigue from his oppressive march, and active exertions to carry on his troops, was too great for the faintness of his military ardour to overcome ; he declared that he was completely exhausted, and lay prostrate on the ground. The men were disorganized and dispersed on the west side of the hill, and covered by the summit from the fire. Putnam ordered them on to the lines ; he entreated and threatened them, and some of the most cowardly he knocked down with his sword, but all in vain. The men complained they had not their officers ; he offered to lead them on himself, but "the cannon" were deserted and they stood no chance without them." The battle indeed appeared here in all its horrors, the British musketry fired high and took effect on this elevated hill, it was completely exposed to the combined fire from their ships, batteries, and field pieces, and their attention was forcibly attracted to it from a strong apprehension of its being fortified.

The British General had now rallied and reorganized his heroic troops, who with undaunted bravery and firm unwavering step appeared again before the murderous lines which had already compelled them to retreat. They had nearly the same obstacles to overcome as before, their cumbrous knapsacks arms and accoutrements of 125lb weight,* tall unmown grass, and the sun blazing in front of them, they had to contend against, as well as an enemy their equals. One new obstacle, they had to pass, the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers, which covered the ground ; but this served rather to stimulate them to still more daring efforts to revenge their fall, and some of them, with terrible desperation, piled up these dead bodies into a horrid breastwork to fire from.†

Maj. Small, who had been sent to Boston for the purpose, returned with the last of the reinforcements, a few companies of the Marines, and was accompanied by an eminent surgeon Doct. Jeffries.

The Americans were now more confident and perfect than before in a manœuvre which had been crowned with success. It was indeed perfectly simple, but equally fatal to the foe.

* Stedman.

† This fact is unquestionable ; we have it from a most respectable eye witness, Mr. Smith, of Salem.

They received orders to reserve their fire till the enemy approached still nearer than before. At six rods only they were permitted to return the fire. The British artillery approached by the narrow road between the tongue of land and Breed's Hill, within three hundred yards of the rail fence,* and almost in a line with the redoubt, and opened on the lines to prepare a way for their infantry.

To add new horrors to the scene, vast columns of smoke were now observed over Charlestown, and passed to the north over the American lines.† General Howe on his first advance had sent word to General Burgoyne and General Clinton on Copps Hill, that his left flank was annoyed by musketry from Charlestown, and desired them to burn it down. A carcass was fired, but fell short near the ferry way ; a second fell in the street, and the town was on fire. The conflagration was completed by a detachment of men who landed from the Somerset. The whole town was combustible. The flames ascended to heaven on the lofty spire of the church, and resembled the eruptions of a vast volcano in solemn grandeur and sublimity. The advance of the enemy, however, was not obscured by the smoke from Charlestown ; they were in full view of the Americans, who suffered them to approach still nearer than before. They soon commenced a regular and tremendous volley by platoons, and their fire became general. But unfortunately for them, though perfect in drill discipline, and regular movements of parade, they were as grossly deficient in what was a thousand times more important, a knowledge of their weapons. Their aim was too elevated, and the enemy were hidden behind the works. Some of their balls however took effect, and a number of the privates fell victims. Col. Brewer was wounded, and Col. Nixon very badly wounded, and carried off. Lt. Col. Buckminster was crippled for life by a ball through the shoulder, and the brave Maj. Moore received a ball through his thigh, and as he was carried to the rear by his men, another ball through the body which proved mortal ; faint from loss of blood, and with the terrible death thirst upon him, which is ever the consequence, not a drop of water even could be found for him nearer than Charlestown neck, to which place two of his youngest men were immediately despatched.

The Americans were at length permitted to throw in their murderous blaze of fire on the foe, it fell on them like lightning,

* Stedman's map and others.

† Gen. Winslow, Capt. Bullard.

prostrating whole ranks of them, officers and men, in promiscuous heaps. The British bore the fatal fire with astonishing fortitude, but it could be withstood by man but a few moments only, their most daring efforts were in vain against the insuperable difficulties they encountered.* Nearly a thousand of their number had fallen, with an incredible proportion of the bravest officers.

The undaunted Howe still led on his men in the hottest of the battle. His aid de camp Balfour's life was saved only by the ball which passed through him, being slightly diverted by his canteen. His volunteer aid, Gordon, and Capt. Addison, a descendant from the author of the Spectator, were slain, and almost every other officer of his staff or near him was shot. Mortified and indignant at so much blood wasted in vain, he seemed to court an honourable death to hide him from the disgrace of a second defeat by an enemy he despised as peasants and rebels. But his life seemed charmed, and he was compelled to follow his army, who again retreated, and yielded their enemy a second time the joys of victory.

The gallant Maj. Small was left standing alone, every one shot down about him. The never-erring muskets were levelled at him, and a soldier's fate was his inevitable destiny, when Putnam at the instant appeared. Each recognized in the other an old friend and fellow soldier ; the tie was sacred ; Putnam threw up the deadly muskets with his sword, and arrested his fate. He begged his men to spare that officer, as dear to him as a brother. The general's human and chivalrous generosity excited in them new admiration, and his friend retired unhurt.

Col. Little in the redoubt was covered with blood from one of his men† shot by his side.

The exultation of the Americans was glorious and well deserved, but alas, short lived. They had leisure to realize the entire hopelessness of their situation. Their ammunition was expended, and they were as destitute of every offensive weapon

* The history of this reserved close fire is remarkable, it was employed by Gen. Wolfe, and probably taught the Americans by his provincial officers. De Berniere, sent by Gage to reconnoitre the country in the spring of '75, satirically describes the earnestness with which it was enjoined on the Yankees. It has ever since been their favourite and successful mode of fighting by sea and land. De Berniere says, "at Framingham a company of militia came and encircled under our windows, one of their commanders spoke a very eloquent speech, recommending patience, coolness, and bravery, (which indeed they much wanted) particularly recommended to them *to charge us coolly, and wait for our fire, and every thing would succeed.*"

† Story of Ipswich.

as the naked savages, their predecessors. Prescott found a few artillery cartridges, which he distributed to his men, and they determined to show a resolute front to the enemy, to club their muskets, and even employ the stones thrown up with the parapet against them. Their only hope, however, was from a want of fortitude in the foe, who had already twice proved any such expectation absolutely groundless.

Ward was without staff officers to bear his commands, excepting one aid and a secretary, who were the whole day on full speed between Breed's Hill and head quarters. Loss and neglect of orders were the inevitable consequence. Gardner's regiment and others who had been left between Cambridge and Charlestown, to wait further orders, were overlooked. The battle was raging, and no orders arrived. The colonel was a gentleman of rank, had been a member of the legislature, and commanded a regiment of militia, which, marching to Lexington to join in the engagement there, suddenly opened on the British artillery ; being entirely void of cover they dispersed. His gallant soul felt their conduct as a stigma on himself, and he resolved on the earliest opportunity to wipe the spot from his escutcheon. A glorious opportunity was before him, and he panted to embrace it—to reap the honour of victory, or death and lasting fame. The latter fate was decreed him. He called his officers together, and offered to lead them into battle ; they consented to follow him with about 300 men. The Col. marched them on to Bunker Hill, where they were met by Putnam, whose anxiety concerning this neglected post, never slept for a moment, he ordered them to take up the intrenching tools and complete the works he had commenced there, declaring, however, his conviction that the enemy would not rally again, they had been twice so thoroughly beaten.

Col. Scammans still remained inactive on Cobble hill, and contented himself with sending a serjeant and other messengers to Gen. Putnam, to see if he was wanted in the battle.

The detachment of Gerrish's regiment from Cambridge marched down and ascended Ploughed hill, under Mighill, the oldest Captain, but the Adjutant Ferbiger, a Danish soldier of experience, assumed the command, called on the men to follow him, and marched for the lines.

Charlestown being burnt, the detachment there perceiving the enemy could not march up on that side, quitted their post, and joined the troops at the lines.

Howe gave his men orders to prepare again to advance. Some of the officers remonstrated, that it would be mere butch-

try to lead them on again; but the generals, and nearly every officer, were indignant at the most distant suspicion of their yielding the victory to these rebels, an undisciplined rabble, of inferior numbers, against whom they had poured out every epithet of contempt. To conquer or die was their resolve.

Bloody experience at last opened their eyes to their egregious errors. Their overweening confidence was laid aside, and a deliberate and judicious plan of attack adopted: The overloaded knapsacks were relinquished; firing with musketry was prohibited; and a charge with the bayonet resorted to. The attack was to be more concentrated; while the troops at the rail fence were amused by a show of force, the grand effort was to be against the redoubt and breastwork, and especially on the right flank.

The accomplished and chivalrous Gen. Clinton now joined his countrymen; bringing his splendid talents into the council, and his distinguished gallantry into the field. Immediate and inconceivable was the sensation his appearance produced at this moment of deep despondence. From Copps Hill he had observed, with shame and indignation, the double rout of his countrymen, and particularly that the two celebrated battalions, the marines and forty-seventh, were staggered and wavering. Without waiting for orders, he threw himself into a boat, passed over, and soon breathed into them his own exalted heroism.

Howe again commanded a forward movement to scale the works, and rush on the enemy with the bayonet. He came to the left to lead on to the redoubt himself. Clinton joined Gen. Pigot and the marines on the left to turn the right flank of the enemy. Howe at last discovered the most vulnerable point, and the key of the enemy's position; the artillery were ordered to advance still farther than before on their old route, and turn the left of the breastwork, to enfilade the line.

The Americans made every preparation possible to repel this last desperate effort of the enemy. Putnam again rode to the rear; and exhausted every art and effort to bring on the scattered reinforcements. Capt. Bayley, only, of Gerrish's regiment, reached the lines. The General ordered Colonel Gardner's Regiment into action, the Colonel commanded his men to throw down the intrenching tools, and rush on, viewed unconcerned the battle scene before him, terrible as Sinai, and was just descending into the engagement, when a musket ball entered his groin, which proved mortal. He gave his last solemn injunction to his men, to conquer or die; and a detachment were just carrying him off the ground, when he was met by his

son, 2d Lieut. of Capt. Trevett, marching on, a mere youth of nineteen, and the interview which ensued between them, was melancholy and heart-rending, though at the same time heroic. The affectionate son in agony at the desperate situation of his father was anxiously desirous to assist him off the field, but was prohibited from doing this by his father, who notwithstanding he was conscious that his wound was mortal, yet encouraged his son to disregard it, reminding him that he was engaged in a glorious cause, and whatever were the consequence, must march on, and do his duty. The distracted son obeyed his parent's last command, and in the battle, now raging, proved himself worthy of him, by a fearless imitation of his example, and afforded him his highest consolation in the hour of death. In consequence of the loss of the Col. his Regiment did not reach the lines. Capt. Harris's company only with a few others of the troops on the left, went to the rail fence. Capt. Trevett who had lost one of his pieces on Bunker Hill, by a cannon shot, marched to the rail fence with the other.

The enemy stripped off their knapsacks, and many of them their coats; the artillery pushed on by the road on the north, the forty-seventh and marines near the road on the south side of the hill, and the remains of the royal Irish and other regiments, and part of the grenadiers and light infantry in front. Their past efforts had exhausted the strength and spirit of many of the soldiers who lingered in the rear, and their gallant officers were compelled to urge them on with their swords. Some of the less resolute fired their pieces, but the great masses obeyed their orders, and with firmness moved on to the charge. They arrived under the fire of the Americans, who improved to advantage their last opportunity for vengeance. Every shot took effect. The gallant Howe at last received a ball in the foot,* where only like Achilles he seemed to be vulnerable, but continued to animate his men.

The distinguished Col. Abercrombie, who commanded the grenadiers, Majors Williams and Spendlove† were slain; and to the noble heart of Abercrombie, Putnam was so dear as a soldier, patriot, and friend, that dying he remembered him, and enjoined it on his surrounding countrymen, "If you take Gen. Putnam alive, don't hang him, for he's a brave fellow."‡

* Dr. Jeffries.

† Much distinguished for 40 years in the 47th Reg. and 4 times in the Gazette for wounds in America, from Wolfe's battle to the present.

‡ From a Lond. paper, see N. E. Chron. Nov. '75.

Near the top of Breed's Hill were a few houses, which escaped the general conflagration of the town ; these were judiciously manned by the Americans, who, from this cover, annoyed the British extremely on their advance, and made great havoc on their left flank, before they were able to surround the redoubt.

The artillery advanced toward the open space between the breastwork and rail fence ; this ground was defended by some brave Essex troops, covered only by scattered trees. With resolution and deadly aim they poured the most destructive volleys on the enemy. The cannon, however, turned the breastwork, enfiladed the line,* and sent their balls through, the open gateway or sally port, directly into the redoubt, under cover of which the troops at the breastwork were compelled to retire.

The enemy bravely bore the deadly fire, and continually closing his broken ranks, deliberately advanced on every side of the redoubt except the north. They were now under the eastern side of the redoubt and covered from the fire. The Americans retired to the opposite side to take them as they rose. Lieut. Prescott, nephew of the colonel, received a ball through the arm ; it hung broken and useless by his side. The colonel ordered him to content himself with encouraging his men. But he contrived to load his piece, and was passing by the sally port to rest against the enemy, when a cannon ball cut him to pieces. A few only of the Americans had a charge of ammunition remaining. They had sent for a supply in vain ; a barrel and a half only were in the magazine. They resorted next to stones, but these served only to betray their weakness, and lent new energy to the foe.

Young Richardson, of the royal Irish, was the first to mount the works, and was instantly shot down ; the front rank which succeeded shared the same fate. Among the foremost of the leaders was the gallant Maj. Pitcairn, who exultingly cried "the day is ours," when Salem† a black soldier, and a number of others, shot him through and he fell. His agonized son received him in his arms and tenderly bore him to the boats. It was he who caused the first effusion of blood at Lexington. In that battle his horse was shot under him, while he was separated from his

* Marshall, Capt. Bancroft, Mass. Cong.
† Note M.

troops ; his pistols* were taken from his holsters, and he was left for dead, when he seized the opportunity and escaped.

The heroic but diminutive Pigot ran up the southeastern corner of the redoubt, assisted by a tree left standing there, and desperately led on his men. Troops succeeded troops over the parapet, and Prescott exhausted every resource to repel them, even with the butts of his guns.

But he had now his last great victory to achieve, to which all his past toils, dangers, and privations, were nothing. He had twice conquered the enemy ; he had now, a more difficult task, to conquer himself, to bend down his lofty soul, and turn his back to the enemy. Perfectly careless of his own life, he had no right to trifle with the lives of his men. It was a sacred deposit they had entrusted to his honor, a bond which he never forfeited. Instead of an useless waste of life, with a "nisi desperandum," he quelled his revolting spirit, and ordered a retreat.

It was not till the battle was near over, that Gen. Ward ordered down his own regiment, Putnam's, and Sargent's, to assist their countrymen at their utmost need ; but before they could arrive, the battle ended. Capt. Clark, of Putnam's regiment, had, before this, joined in the battle, and Durkee's impatience had brought him mounted to the field, to join his old commander and comrade of former wars.† Putnam's imagination had already inscribed the victory of Bunker Hill on his coat of arms, when the retreat of the right wing burst upon him, and his hopes were blasted.

The veteran Gridley now received a ball through the leg, and was carried off. He had served all night at the entrenchments, and assisted all day in defending his own works, and proving their excellence. Prescott's troops fought their way through the surrounding enemy. The veteran Capt. Bancroft was charging his piece, a British soldier leaped from the parapet, touching him as he came, to the ground, and levelled at him, they fired together, the captain tore him to pieces and escaped unhurt. One of the men without ammunition perceived Lieut. Prescott's loaded musket by its deceased owner ;

* These with the initials on them, belonged afterward to Putnam, and are yet in his family. Gage says the horse was shot, the other facts come from the man who brought in the pistols.

† In the journal of the famous Ranger, Maj. Rob. Rogers, is recorded an instance of the adventurous bravery of Putnam, his capture by a party of savages, and the desperate resistance of Durkee, who, though mangled with a number of wounds continued fighting till he conquered. Lond. 1765, p. 118.

one of the enemy opposed his passage ; seizing the musket he brought his antagonist to the ground. Col. Bridge, who came with the first detachment, was one of the last to retreat, and was twice severely wounded, in the head and neck by a broad sword. His lieut. colonel, the veteran Parker, who had escaped through the whole war of '56, in which he had signalized himself, especially at the desperate siege of Fort Frontinac, received a ball in the thigh, and was left mortally wounded in the redoubt.

Moore's soldiers found no one at the neck to supply them with drink for him ; they entered a store, the owner was in the cellar to secure himself from the cannonade, and refused to come up, finding spirit and water however, they hastened back to witness only that all their efforts were labor lost, the enemy being in the redoubt, and Moore in the last extremity ; his men made every effort to remove him, but he ordered them to leave him, and save themselves, as he had but a moment to live ; they were immediately compelled to do this by the enemy, in the midst of whom, they saw him for the last time, as they retired, on the ground.

"On the bare earth exposed he lies,
With not a friend to close his eyes."

The British now enjoyed the satisfaction of responding to the hurras of victory, which had been twice enjoyed by the enemy, and expressed their melancholy exultation by a feeble hurra.

The chivalrous Warren lingered to the last. His exalted spirit disdained as a disgrace a retreat the most inevitable. He animated the men to the most desperate daring ; and when hope itself had fled, he still disdained to fly. With sullen reluctance he slowly followed his countrymen, and seemed to court death from the enemy, to hide him from shame.

As he left the redoubt he was recognized by his friend, Maj. Small, who honorably repaid the debt of gratitude he owed the enemy, he called to Warren for God's sake to stop and save his life, Warren, turned and seemed to recognize him, but still continued on. Small ordered his men not to fire at him, and threw up the muskets with his sword, but in vain, the fatal ball had sped ; eighty yards from the redoubt Warren received a musket ball through the head, which killed him instantly, securing to him immortal fame, and the eternal gratitude of his country.*

* Putnam remarked on the similarity of Lord Howe's fate, who fell by his side 17 years before, and Gen. Warren's, both he had entreated in vain to keep out of the engagements in which they fell.

Col. Scammons arrived at last on Bunker Hill with part of his Regiment, the remainder yet kept aloof under Maj. Wood, Putnam ordered these troops into action, but it was too late, and they joined in the retreat.—Col. Whitcomb's men under Maj. Sawyer yet remained in the rear. Capt. Foster arrived on the top of Bunker Hill with his field pieces, but rapidly retreated to save them from the enemy.

Gardner's Reg. had now approached near the fort ; Major Jackson, who had served in the former war with the British, and was well acquainted with their officers, being in advance was immediately recognized by one of them as they issued from the redoubt, who indignantly accosted him with "what, you damn'd Rebel are you here," and levelled his piece at him, Jackson at the same instant levelled at his antagonist, and they fired together ; the ball passed through Maj. Jackson's side, though his life was preserved by his sword belt, which partially glanced the ball, but nothing could save a British officer, fairly pitted against an American as a marksman, he was slain.

The British came on, exhausted by their desperate efforts, under a blazing sun, and broken by the well directed fire. They had not force to employ the bayonet, and were too much broken and mingled with the enemy to fire their pieces. Their right and left wings were indeed facing each other, with the Americans between ; their fire would have cut down both friend and foe. While they formed themselves anew, the Americans collected, and made a brave and orderly retreat. Putnam put spurs to his foaming horse and threw himself between the retreating force and the enemy, who were but twelve rods from him ; his countrymen were in momentary expectation of seeing this compeer of the immortal Warren fall. He entreated them to rally and renew the fight, to finish his works on Bunker Hill, and again give the enemy battle on that unassailable position, and pledged his honor to restore to them an easy victory. Lieut. Col. Ward reached the rail fence with a few troops, while some of his companies under Capts. Cushing, Smith, and Washburn, between Bunker and Breed's Hills, courageously covered the retreat by a brave and well directed fire, they were joined by Capt. Lunt of Little's Regiment, just arrived, Capts. Chester and Coit with fresh troops, and other soldiers, whose ammunition was not expended. This desperate devoted rear guard, effectually kept the enemy at bay, but the laurels gained by them, were by no means bloodless, a great number of these troops were killed or wounded.

The Americans had retreated about twenty rods before the enemy had time to rally and pour in a destructive fire on them, which destroyed more than they had lost before during the day. Prescott's adjutant was shot and crippled, his Capts. Maxwell, Dow, and Farwell, badly wounded, the latter carried off for dead ; Lt. Fawcett mortally wounded and fell into the hands of the enemy. Capt. Bancroft had a part of his hand carried off and his Lieut. Brown was wounded.

The American left wing were congratulating themselves on their victory, when their flank was opened by the retreat of the right. The enemy pressed on them, and they were in their turn compelled to retire. Putnam covered their retreat with his Connecticut troops and others just arrived, and, in the rear of the whole, dared the utmost fury of the enemy, who pursued with little ardor, but poured in their thundering volleys, and showers of balls fell like hail around the general. He addressed himself to every passion of the troops, to persuade them to rally, to throw up his works on Bunker Hill, and make a stand there, and, threatened them with the eternal disgrace of deserting their general. He took his stand near a field-piece, and seemed resolved to brave the foe alone. His troops, however, felt it impossible to withstand the overwhelming force of the British bayonets ; they left him. One serjeant only dared to stand by his general to the last ; he was shot down, and the enemy's bayonets were just upon the general, when he retired.

Gen. Pomeroy continued to animate the men, and cut down the enemy himself, till a well hove ball shattered his musket. The retreat having commenced, he disdained to turn from the enemy ; but with backward step and lowering front shouldered the fragments of his piece, and carried off his men, encouraging them to pour in their formidable fire on the foe.

Capt. Trevett, like Callender, was deserted by his men. His lieutenants, Swasey and Gardner, stood by him, with but seven others, one of whom was Moses Porter, already a promising artillerist. He persuaded about thirty of the infantry to join in saving one of his pieces, the other he was compelled to abandon. A British company noticed the piece, and determined to seize the prey ; they pursued, on the top of Bunker Hill were within thirty yards of them, levelled their muskets and fired. The captain gave up all for lost, when but one dropped dead, and another wounded, the remainder rapidly descended the hill, and carried off with honor the only piece saved out of six taken to the field, Putnam ordered it to Cambridge.

The Charlestown company of Gardner's regiment was the last to retreat. They were fighting at their own doors, on their own natal soil. They were on the extreme left, covered by stone loose stones thrown up on the shore of the Mystic, during the day, by order of Col. Stark. At this most important post into the country, against which the enemy made the most desperate efforts, like Leonidas' band, they had taken post, and like them they defended it, till the enemy had discovered another.

One piece of cannon at the neck opened on the enemy and covered the retreat.* But these were in no condition, and discovered no inclination to renew the engagement, or pursue their advantage, except by a formidable fire from their field pieces on Bunker Hill,† where they remained, and lay on their arms during the night. The same was done by most of the Americans on Prospect Hill, directly in the face of the enemy, and by Reed's and Starks' troops on Winter Hill.

Maj. Brooks was retained at Cambridge by Ward, till the last reinforcements were sent to Charlestown, when he marched with the two remaining companies of his regiment, and met at the neck the Americans retreating. Benjamin Thompson, better known as Count Rumford, attended him as a volunteer. He was assisting the army by his mathematical learning, his estimates and surveys, but had solicited an appointment in vain; and had made great but fruitless interest for the commission in the artillery which was bestowed on Maj. Gridley.‡ For this gross injustice done to his distinguished merit, his country suffered well deserved punishment in the misconduct of his rival, and by the final loss of his services, except what they received, in common with all mankind, from his splendid philosophical discoveries, his glorious and beneficent political labors.

Henry Knox, afterward the distinguished General, assisted Ward, as a volunteer, in reconnoitring the enemy's movements during the day.

McClary, as attentive to the wants of his men as desperate in fighting them, galloped to Medford, and returned with dressings for the wounded. He ordered Capt. Dearborn to advance toward the neck with his company, while he crossed over to reconnoitre the enemy. He was returning with Lieut. Col. Robinson and others, and observed that the shot commissioned to kill him was not yet cast, when a cannon ball from the Glas-

* Gov. Brooks.

† Dr. Dexter.

‡ Gov. Brooks.

gown tore him to pieces. No smaller weapon seemed worthy to destroy the gigantic hero.

The veteran Col. Gridley entered his sulky at Bunker Hill to be carried off. The enemy shot the horse, and riddled the sulky with balls ; but their rage was impotent ; meeting some obstruction in the road, he had left the carriage a moment before.

Prescott repaired to Cambridge, furious as a lion driven from his lair, foaming with indignation at the want of support when victory was in his grasp,—a victory dearly purchased with the precious blood of his soldiers, family, and friends. He demanded but two fresh regiments of Ward, and pledged his life with these to drive the enemy to their boats. He had not yet done enough to satisfy himself, though he had done enough to satisfy his country. He had not indeed secured final victory, but he had secured a glorious immortality.

Two young men in Boston were employed in taking the wounded from the boats to the hospitals ; and a young lieutenant, shot through the body, was carried by them in a chair to his encampment, passing the streets, pale and faint with loss of blood, he attracted the humane and generous compassion shown by the inhabitants to the wounded ; enmity forgotten, they were all at their doors with refreshing drink for them. At the encampment they met Capt. Pitcairn covered with blood. Struck with the appearance, the lieutenant inquired of him the cause, but his grief was too big for utterance, “*vox faucibus hæsit.*” A serjeant informed him, the captain’s father was shot at the breastwork, and carried by his son to the boat, where he died in his arms. The hospital they found was established in a different place,* to which they repaired, and witnessed a scene to melt the most obdurate enemy. Not only the hospital but the yard was overloaded with wounded, praying in vain for the surgeons to arrest the current of life, fast ebbing from their wounds, which, from their numbers, it was impossible, for a long time, to dress.

Loud and melancholy wailings for the dead, from widows of the common soldiers, were heard in every street, and struck on the heart of the passenger.

The American surgical department was quite unorganized,†

* In the old factory opposite the granary.

† The hospital was in the house now A. Bigelow, Esq.’s. Soon afterward it was removed to Mr. Fairweather’s, and put under the superintendance of the poet and traitor, Dr. Church, who in one of his intercepted letters attributes the loss of the battle, to the cowardice of the clumsy Col. Gerrish and Col. Scammons.

The above account of Maj. Jackson p. 46, is from Mr. Baldwin see Notes p. 18.

Doct. Foster, of Charlestown, was principal surgeon ; many of the wounded were carried to a place of safety on the backs of their comrades, and the best litter for the highest officer was a blanket and rails. Doct. Eustis,* of the artillery, Doctors Thos. Kitteridge, Walter Hastings, Thos. Welsh, David Townsend, and Jno. Hunt, were in attendance this day, principally at a house under the western side of Bunker Hill ; they were joined by Lieut. Col. Bricket† a physician, who came off with the first of the wounded. Doct. Welsh was afterwards near Winter Hill, by which route the troops, who went to Cambridge, retreated ; he and Sam'l Blodget assisted in arresting the retreat of the N. Hampshire troops. Col. Gardner was overtaken here by the flying soldiers, which roused him to make his last effort for his country ; with his feeble remains of strength he raised himself up by the rails on which he was carried, and beckoned them back to the fight.

The number of the Americans during the battle was fluctuating, but may be fairly estimated at 3500 who joined in the battle, and 500 more who covered the retreat.‡ Their loss was one hundred and fifteen killed and missing, three hundred and five wounded, and thirty captured, in all four hundred and fifty.§ The following was the estimated loss of the respective corps :

Regiments.	Killed.	Wounded.
Colonels Stark and Reed	15	45
Colonel Scammans	0	2
— Gerrish	3	2
— Whitcomb	5	8
— Brewer	7	11
— Little	7	23
— Gardner	6	7
— Gridley	0	4

* Afterwards Secretary of War, Minister to Holland, and Gov. of Mass. of urban manners and respectable talents.

† It is said Warren, as he went on, obtained his arms from him.

Dr. John Warren, brother to the General, hearing a rumor of an approaching engagement, came from Salem to join the army as a soldier on the day of the battle, was engaged as Hospital Surgeon, and much distinguished as such during the war.

‡ The average numbers in a Regt. according to the returns of 17 the author has, were 469. Great allowance must be made for those unable, and those unwilling, to go on ; the men went on or off as they pleased, and when they pleased.

§ Gen. Ward's ord. book.

Regiments.	Killed.	Wounded.
General Putnam's regiment,		
Captain Coit, and }	15	30
Captain Chester's companies, }		
General Ward	1	6
Colonel Bridge	16	29
— Prescott	42	28
— Frye	15	31
— Nixon	3	10
— Woodbridge	1	5
— Doolittle	0	9

Providence newspaper, July 13, 1775.

The British loss was about 1500,* Gage acknowledges but 1054;† including eighty-nine officers; two hundred and twenty-six killed, including nineteen officers, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded, seventy of them officers. The 52d regt. lost 5 officers, four of them the highest in the regiment; their only complaint was that they were wounded in the back. The marines lost six, and Howe's aid-de-camp; and had 12 wounded. The grenadiers of the Welsh fusileers were reduced to eight, and twenty-two out of thirty-nine grenadiers of the fifty-second regiment were killed. All the grenadiers of one company were shot storming the works except five, and these were led on by the oldest soldier.‡ Lord Rawdon, afterwards Earl of Moira and Marquis of Hastings, led on a corps of grenadiers, and escaped with a ball or two through his cap.§

Stark's Capt. Baldwin, who had been in twenty actions, Nixon's Capt. Moses, and Lieuts. Dix of Gerrish's, West of Whitecomb's, and Bailey of Bridge's regiments, were killed; Ward's Capt. Wood, Putnam's Lieut. Grosvenor, Stark's Lieut. Scott,|| and Little's serjeant afterwards Lieut. Pearson, wounded. Capt. Warner carried on but 23 men, 17 of them were killed or wounded. He received a ball through his hat, another through his waistcoat pocket which destroyed his knife handle, one through his coat, and, by a fourth, lost his gun, easily replaced now from those which had lost their owners. Capt. Coburn had two balls through his jacket, and five through his shirt; and Capt. Bullard's clothes were cut as remarkably, both were

* Mass. Cong.

† His crafty expression that he sent over, *something above* 2000 has deceived many.

‡ Gentleman's Magazine for 1775 p. 397.

§ Burgoyne says, "he behaved to a charm, his name is established forever."

|| Not called Lieut. on record, but doubtless the same who was taken prisoner.

unhurt. After the retreat, Col. Sargent was slightly wounded by a cannon ball, which carried off Lieut. Col. Ward's cartridge box and knocked down a subaltern. Many were injured, and Capt. Bancroft lost an eye, from the percussion of the air by cannon balls. Col. Nixon's life was saved by a dollar in his pocket, Judge Winthrop and James Swan, Esq. volunteered in the battle, fought valiantly with their muskets, and the former was wounded.*

Thirty-one Americans, taken prisoners, were confined, officers and men, in Boston jail. Washington complained to Gage of their treatment, who declared they fared as well as the British,† though destined to the cord by the laws of the country ; but that, not acknowledging rank unless derived from the crown, he made no distinction in favour of officers.

In this battle the British gained a nominal victory, but the Americans the only prize contended for ; they destroyed entirely the physical and moral force of the British army, imprisoned them within their narrow limits, and prevented their excursions. The enemy never after recovered their enterprise and confidence in America, and by this single battle the final success of the American revolution was secured.

The Rev. Doct. Saml. Macclintock of Greenland, Chaplain of Stark's Reg. and in the war of '56 Chaplain of Goffe's Reg. was in the battle of Bunker Hill, intrepidly by " his exhortations prayers and example encouraging and animating them to the unequal conflict."

* Philip Johnson, Esq. then of Little's regiment, was wounded. His Capt. Perkins, finding it waxed warm when they arrived at the neck, threw away his wig, and led his men over at single file, the mode generally adopted.

Mr. Abbot, now postmaster at Andover, received a ball through his leg ; Mr. Barker carried him off $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile on his back. A ball passed through the body of one man and wounded another in the knee ; the first recovered, the latter died. Braddish received a ball in the back of his head or neck, which came out through his forehead, was cured, and served again. Gates's jaw was broken by a ball ; he served a year or two, till sent home as disabled, and has been compelled to dress his wound every day for $\frac{1}{2}$ a century. Another has worn a bullet in his leg the same length of time. The heart of Pollard, the first killed, continued beating for some time after it was cut out of him by the cannon ball.

Capt. Wheeler, going on, a 24-pound cannon shot passed between his legs on top of Bunker Hill, threw him into the air, prostrated him, and broke his waistband string ; his leather smallclothes secured him from further injury.

Fear fastened on Capt. *** like night-mare ; heartily inclined to fight in the cause, and deeply mortified, it was impossible for him to break the spell. He honestly confessed his weakness ; a serjeant led on the company ; and, against their unanimous wish, he resigned.

† Boston suffered extremely from want of fresh provisions ; owing to which many of the prisoners and British died. A present, from Putnam to Gen. Gage's lady, of a quarter of veal, was of consequence enough to be recorded in the newspapers. The respected Master Lovell was imprisoned, and afterwards carried to Halifax, on account of his letters found on Gen. Warren.

The Americans used no colors, and the British neither colors nor music.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

Ward was appointed by the National Congress first major general and second in command of the army. He assumed the command of the right wing at Roxbury on the arrival of Washington, 2d July, by whom his disposition of the troops around Boston was approved.* From ill health he resigned his commission in April. '76, but continued in command at the request of Washington and Congress till March '77. He was afterwards in Congress under the old confederation and present constitution, and died in 1800, aged 73.†

Thomas was appointed first Brig. Gen. under the United States ; in '76 Major Gen. and on the death of Montgomery repaired to Canada to command the army before Quebec. He found their situation desperate ; but was too adventurous to relinquish the enterprise without one attempt to secure the favours of fortune. He endeavoured to burn the enemy's naval force before the city by a fire ship, designing to attack the place during the conflagration ; the fire ship miscarried, he was compelled to retreat, and died of the small pox at Chamblee.

Pomeroy expressed his strong sense of the blindness of fortune, that, of the two volunteer generals in the battle, Warren, the young and chivalrous soldier, the eloquent and enlightened legislator, should fall, and he escape, old and useless, unhurt. From age he declined the honourable appointment of first Brig. Gen. of the U. S. army, and retired from service. But, like the veteran war horse, when the echoes of his majestic Connecticut rang with the clarion of battle, he spurned the peaceful retreat which his long life and long services demanded. He preferred even a regiment to inaction, and as a colonel marched to join the kindred spirits who composed our army in the Jerseys. His exposures produced a pleurisy, which proved

* Marshall, 242.

† Two days after the battle he informed Mass. Congress, that spears might have saved the redoubt, the army were immediately supplied with them ; and they were kept greased to prevent their being effectually grasped by the enemy. Ward's Aid de camp was Saml. Osgood, his Secretary Jos. Ward, afterwards a highly respected Muster-master-general during most of the war under Washington.

fatal at Peekskill in New York, where his country owes him a monument, and bravery and patriotism perennial fame.

When Putnam* was ordered on what may well be styled a forlorn hope, to land with a detachment at Boston, in face of the army and batteries of the enemy, Prescott solicited of him the honor of participating the desperate enterprise, which was arrested however by a hurricane, and the enemy were expelled from a different quarter. The Col. continued in service, accompanied Washington to New York, and on the disastrous retreat through the Jerseys, was the only officer able to keep his men in the ranks. They proved worthy the hero of Bunker Hill, and kept the enemy in respect ; Washington applauded them as an example to the army, and tendered his thanks to the Col. in general orders. In '77 he joined Gen. Gates with a corps of volunteers, and continued with him till the capture of Burgoyne.

On the return of peace he again entered the state legislature, and distinguished himself in '87 as a magistrate, as he did in '75 as a warrior. From the miseries and poverty produced by war, many of the sufferers in Massachusetts were driven to an armed opposition to government ; this enlightened patriot employed his powerful influence to stay the torrent of insurrection ; he collected his friends and proceeded to Concord armed to protect the court there against the insurgents. He was religious and died, 1790, in the 70th year of his age.

Immediately after the battle, the rank of major general was conferred on Gridley. America commenced her revolution with but four pieces of cannon, and to his mechanical science and ingenuity she was indebted for the first mortars and cannon ever cast in the country. After being confined some months by his wound, he repaired to Cambridge and superintended the fortifications erecting round Boston. On the 4th March, '76, he was again engaged in erecting fortifications in the night, and the address, science, and prodigies of labour, displayed at Dorchester Heights, were perhaps never exceeded, except on Breed's Hill. These works compelled the enemy to evacuate Boston, the heights and the islands of which, were fortified by Gridley. Washington urged him to accompany the army, but his advanced age forbade, and he retired on half pay. In '95 he assisted in laying the corner stone of the state house, as in laying that of the state in '75, and lived to the age of 86, a

* Putnam commenced the fortifications at Prospect Hill, and after Washington's arrival, at Lechmere Point likewise, and Cobble Hill, the work at the last place was named Putnam's impregnable Fort.

model of courtliness, beneficence, and hospitality, as well as military excellence.

Stark will be recognized as the hero of Bennington, where he practised an ingenious deception to strike a panic into the enemy. He had one iron cannon, but neither powder sufficient for it, nor balls ; he ordered an officer to load it, who objected the want of balls ; "no matter," said the colonel, "load it "with blank cartridge, and let the discharge be the signal for "all the troops to rush on." The Hessians were panic-struck at the thundering report, his troops rushed on with loud hurras, and the victory was complete.*

The veteran Col. Jos. Frye, brother to James, had served with reputation in the wars of '45, and '56, commanded all the Mass. forces in '57,† was captured at fort Wm. Henry, stripped naked, and gashed with tomahawks‡ in the subsequent massacre ; was appointed Maj. Gen. by Mass. Congress, 21 June '75, served some time afterwards, and died very old at Fryeburgh, named after his family.

Col. Gardner lived a few days after the battle, being asked if he was well enough to see his son, "yes," answered the hero, "if he has done his duty." He had the satisfaction to see him, and learn that he bravely distinguished himself.

The life of Brooks since the battle of Bunker Hill has been far too distinguished in the military and political history of America to be noticed satisfactorily in a supplement. His regiment, when Washington arrived at Cambridge, was distinguished for its superior discipline, and Gates pronounced him one of the first disciplinarians in service. He was appointed first inspector of the army under Steuben, and afterwards Adj. Gen. for the army on the North River, and was distinguished in nearly all the important battles of the revolution. He was in the battle on Long Island with the reinforcement, and in that of White Plains ; history has recorded him among the most distinguished commanders in the army which captured Burgoyne ; and he was in the battle of Monmouth as Adj. Gen. From their earliest acquaintance, he was a favourite of Washington, enjoyed his uniform friendship, and was honourably distinguished, from being selected by him as one of the general officers, to serve with him again in '98. During the last war he had the su-

* His statement to Hon. Tim. Bigelow.

† Minot 2. 16.

‡ He was opposed to the surrender, and his officers presented him a piece of plate for his courage and conduct on this occasion.

perintendence of the militia of Mass. and secured the country from inroads of the enemy. For many years he was elected governor and commander in chief of Massachusetts, to the universal satisfaction of all parties. Over the liberties and free constitutions he established as a warrior, he presided as a legislator with distinguished ability. In 1823 he declined a reelection, and died in '25 universally lamented.

The brave Knowlton, from the first moment of the battle to the last of the retreat, showed himself worthy the honour of being selected as the first among the Connecticut captains. He was promoted, and on the night of 8th of Jan. went, in command of 200 men, directly under the enemy's batteries, and burned some houses left standing near the neck, killed or captured the British in them, and came off without loss under a heavy fire. He was afterwards Lieut. Col. and at the battle of Harlem heights, was sent by Washington to gain the enemy's rear ; a bloody action ensued ; Knowlton and his men fought the whole force of the enemy, of vastly superior numbers, before the Americans could attack in front, and gained the advantage. By this gallant affair, he restored to the army, a glorious moral force, nearly extinguished by disasters ; but at the expense of many of his brave men in the unequal contest ; his Major Leitch was slain, with three balls through him, and the victory was dearly purchased with his own invaluable life. Washington paid due honour to his memory in general orders, declaring, "he had died a glorious death, which every soldier "ought to wish for, and would have been an honour to any "country on earth."

The indignation felt by Prescott, at the loss of the battle, was general, in the army and throughout the country ; a scrutiny, severe and unrelenting, was instituted into the conduct of every one who could be suspected. Even the dangerous and honourable wounds of Bridge were insufficient to secure him from passing the ordeal of a court ; from whose relentless severity he narrowly escaped condemnation, on the charge of keeping under cover too cautiously in the redoubt.

Notwithstanding this severe inquisition, and the great number of Americans engaged, most of them for the the first time, five only were discovered guilty of misconduct. Of these, Maj. Gridley was tried for neglect of duty, Gen. Green presiding, the court "find him guilty of breach of orders, and there- "fore dismiss him from the Massachusetts service ; but on ac- "count of his inexperience and youth, and the great confusion "which attended that day's transaction in general, they do not

" consider him incapable of a Continental commission, should the general officers recommend him to his Excellency."*

Mansfield was obviously guilty of an error only, arising from inexperience ; he was cashiered. Col. Gerrish evinced certainly a want of military ardor and activity, but this was in part a constitutional defect. He was not accused before the committee of Congress by Gen. Putnam, and in the opinion of the highly respected judge advocate of the court was far too harshly treated.†

A complaint was lodged against him with Ward immediately after the battle, who refused to notice it on account of the unorganized state of the army. He was stationed at Sewall's point, which was fortified ; in a few weeks a floating battery made an attack on the place, which he did not attempt to repel, observing, " the rascals can do us no harm, and it would be a mere waste of powder, to fire at them with our 4 " pounders ;" it was evening, the lights were extinguished, and all the British balls flew wide of the fort. For his conduct on this occasion, and at Bunker Hill he was arrested immediately, tried, found guilty of " conduct unworthy an officer," and cashiered.

Capt. Callender apparently guilty of cowardice is a glorious instance of the buoyancy of genuine heroism, and the redeeming efficacy of the " mind conscious of rectitude." The furious denunciation of Putnam, the sentence of court, and thundering proscription of Washington, would have crushed any one forever, not armed with a panoply so divine. A committee of Congress appointed to inquire into the truth of a report, that some officers of the army had been guilty of misconduct ; report, that they had made inquiry of Gen. Putnam and other officers who were in the hottest of the battle, and that the general charged Capt. Callender and another artillery officer, with infamous cowardice, one of the principal causes of the defeat, and informed them that he would quit the service if these officers were not made an example of, and that one of them ought to be shot. The court martial condemned Callender, and Washington approved the judgment, " not only from the particular guilt of Capt. Callender, but the fatal consequence of such conduct to the army, " and to the cause of America in general."

Notwithstanding this, our hero resolved to compel the world to acknowledge, by his future conduct, that his past had been mistaken. He continued with his corps as a volunteer, and desperately exposed himself in every action. The brave and beneficent Knox extended to him his friendship. At the battle on Long Island, the Capt. and Lieut. of the artillery company, in which he served, were shot ; he assumed the command, and refusing to retreat, fought his pieces to the last ;

* Ord. Book.

† Judge Tudor.

the bayonets of the soldiers were just upon him, when a British officer, admiring his chivalrous and desperate courage, interceded and saved him. Washington expressed the highest approbation of his conduct, gave him his hand and his cordial thanks ; ordered the sentence of the court martial to be erased from the orderly book, and restored him his commission. He held this during the war, and left service at the peace, with the highest honour and reputation.*

Capt. Dearborn was afterwards distinguished during the revolutionary war for his bravery and enterprise. He volunteered at the head of a company of men, selected from the regiment to accompany Arnold, in the winter of '75, through the trackless wilds, to Quebec ; an enterprise, which, in daring hardihood and courage, is not surpassed by Hannibal's passage of the Alps. He commanded a battalion of Lt. infantry at Saratoga, and his services were acknowledged by Gates in the highest terms of approbation. Cilley's regiment in which he was Lieut. Col. was highly distinguished in the battle of Monmouth, and the salvation of the army was owing to their courage. Washington acknowledged the service, and sent to inquire what regiment it was. "Full blooded yankees by . . . sir," was the answer of the commander. Dearborn was afterward secretary at war under Jefferson ; and during the last war first major general and senior officer of the army.

Porter, who stood by his captain and cannon to the last, rose through every grade of office, to be a distinguished Gen. in the army. He was intrusted with the command at Norfolk, the last war, and in 1818 was at Boston in command of the district which in '75 as a private he so bravely defended.

Howe, notwithstanding his wound, remained on the field the whole night, watching the movements of the enemy; supporting himself against some hay, he ordered his attendants to prevent him from falling asleep.

In the morning young Winslow† of Boston, recognised the body of Warren, and announced the fact. Howe would scarcely credit the account ; it was so improbable that the president of Congress was in the battle. Dr. Jeffries was on the field dressing the British wounded, and the wounded American prisoners, with his usual humanity and skill. Howe inquired of him if he could identify Warren ; he recollects that he had lost a finger nail and wore a false tooth, and informed the general that Warren had five days before ventured over to Boston in a canoe to get information, invited Jeffries to join the Americans as surgeon, and informed him that he was himself to receive a commission in the army. Warren was instantly recognised, and the enemy declared this victim alone was worth five hundred of their men.

* Lt. Woodward was also found guilty of misconduct. † Gen. Winslow.

NOTES

TO HIS

SKETCH

OF

Bunker-Hill Battle.

By S. SWETT.

BOSTON :

MUNROE AND FRANCIS, 128 WASHINGTON,

CORNER OF WATER STREET.

Dec. 1825.



NOTES

TO THE

SKETCH OF BUNKER-HILL BATTLE.

NOTE A.

Conduct of Gen. Putnam during the battle.

Gov. Brooks's statement. The author being in the staff of Gov. Brooks and enjoying his friendship, received every assistance from him he could desire in writing an account of the battle. This battle was probably never understood by any one better than by him. Meeting the troops who went on, over night, at the neck ; continuing with them on duty as a field officer till the forenoon following, when he was despatched to head-quarters at Cambridge, where he arrived at 10 o'clock and was retained till permitted to rejoin the troops at the neck on the last of the retreat ; solicitously inquiring at the time, and ever after, into the occurrences, nothing important could have escaped him : and the author is without apology if, with the information derived from him, he has committed a single mistake of the slightest consequence.

Gov. Brooks stated,* he was informed by Col. Webb, a distinguished Connecticut officer, who signalized himself in Bunker-Hill battle, that Gen. Putnam (whose Aid he was afterwards) on the retreat, remained in the rear by a cannon, with a serjeant, the only man he could persuade to stand by him, till the enemy were just upon them with their bayonets, when the serjeant was shot down and he was compelled to retire. Gov. Brooks, going to Cambridge in the forenoon, met Gen. Putnam riding toward Bunker Hill.

* This, and every other statement referred to by the author, were taken down in writing at the time ; any person who pleases may have copies taken of any documents in his possession.

The following testimony is from the Boston Centinel.

As the original documents have long been lost from the Boston Athenaeum, we can only say, the copies in the Centinel and N. A. Review are known to have been made by two gentlemen of as high honour and integrity as our country ever produced.

JUDGE GROSVENOR says, under the immediate superintendence of Gen. Putnam, ground was broken and a redoubt formed. The next day Gen. Putnam was extremely active and directed principally the operations. After the British landed, a detachment of four Lieutenants and 120 men of Gen. Putnam's Regt. under Capt. Knowlton were by the Gen. ordered to take post at a rail fence on the left of the breastwork. The Gen. inspired confidence by his example ; of the officers the most active were Putnam, Prescott, and Knowlton.

ABNER ALLEN, of Western, deposes before a Judge of the Supreme Court :—was in Grosvenor's company ; went on the night before the battle ; Putnam was then and there called Gen. and acted as such. I was at the rail fence, and do know that Gen. Putnam was in the engagement. I saw him on horseback urging the men *to fight* with great earnestness ; he was as much exposed as any man engaged.

JOSIAH HILL, Tyringham, Putnam's Regt. testifies : “ I know that Gen. Putnam was in the battle, took part in the engagement, and was as much exposed as any body in the battle.”

THE REV. ARMY CHAPLAIN.—Gen. Putnam did all that man could do to induce the men to go on to the Hill. He led on Capt. Knowlton with part of a Connecticut Regt. [After adding some other facts,] I was the intimate friend of Col. Prescott and Lt. Col. Robinson, and from the mouths of those heroes I had this account.

He adds in his letter, which we have,

THOS. COOKE, ESQ. member of Mass. Congress, signer of *sword in hand* money, says : he went to one of the neighboring hills to view the battle ; saw Gen. Putnam, who did all that man could do to get on the men to Breed's Hill ; he appeared firm, resolute, thoughtless of personal danger ; his praise was in the mouth of every one at that time, he never heard a disrespectful word against him.

REUBEN KEMP, Brooklyn, Con. Stark's Regt. testifies : “ arrived at the high grounds over the neck ; were furnished with intrenching tools and began to throw up a breastwork ; in ten or fifteen minutes the drums beat to arms, and we were marched immediately. Gen.

Putnam seemed to have the ordering of things. He charged the men not to fire till the enemy came close to the works, and to take good aim and make every shot kill a man. A few pieces were discharged before the order, Gen. Putnam passed along the lines quickly and threatened to stab any one who fired without order. The enemy got pretty near the works, we were ordered to take good aim and fire. At this time Gen. Putnam was constantly passing backward and forward from right to left."

ISAAC BASSETT, Killingley, Gen. Putnam's Regt. deposes : was at the redoubt and breastwork just as the action commenced ; saw Gen. Putnam there with his sword drawn, encouraging and animating the troops. My father was going off with a wounded man, Gen. Putnam stopped him, pricking his arm with his sword, and told him not a soldier should leave the ground. I saw Gen. Putnam in the hottest of the fight, calling on the men to stand their ground ; I am sure he was at the same post when the enemy scaled the walls of the redoubt.

EBENEZER BEAN, Conway, Stark's Regt. at the Redoubt, about 12. Gen. Putnam was there and very active, was urging the men on, giving orders, riding from one end of the line to the other as far as I could observe, and continued active through the action ; in my opinion fought with great bravery.

Judge Advocate TUDOR : soon after the arrival of Gen. Washington, courts-martial were ordered for trial of officers for misbehavior 17th June. In the inquiry which those trials occasioned, I never heard any insinuation against the conduct of Gen. Putnam.

PRES. ADAMS, senior. " This I do say without reserve, I never heard the least insinuation of dissatisfaction with the character of Gen. Putnam during his whole life."

Capt. JOHN BARKER, formerly of Pomfret, " knew Putnam perfectly ; between the first and second attacks he came on foot to about the centre of ours (Reed's N. H. Regt.), warmly praised the men for their bravery and encouraged them to fight well should the enemy come again.

Major ELIHU LYMAN, Greenfield, a Lieut. in the battle, deposes : well remembers, Gen. Putnam was present directing the retreat, riding backward and forward between us and the British, and appeared cool and deliberate, frequently speaking to the men. He continued with us till we were out of the reach of small arms. I now perfectly remember, that I then expected every moment to see Gen. Putnam shot from his horse. I knew Gen. Putnam perfectly, was in the army with him in the French war, and 5 years in the revolutionary war.

ANDERSON MINER, Maj. Lyman's company : saw Gen. Putnam riding through the American ranks amidst showers of balls undaunted, with his sword drawn, exhorting the troops 'in the name of God' to form and give the British one shot more, and then they might retreat.

GEN. KEYS, many years adjutant-general of Conn. 1st Lieut. Putnam's Regt. : saw Putnam after the repulse of the enemy near the field-pieces deserted by Callender, as I was going towards the Redoubt, very active, found our troops giving way and immediately retreated.

ABIEL BUGBEE, Pomfret, Putnam's Regt. : posted on left of the line behind rail fence ; Gen. Putnam was riding backward and forward encouraging the men during the fight ; when we retreated, Gen. Putnam was on horseback within ten rods of the enemy, and ordered us to take some tools as we retreated.

JOHN DEXTER, Pomfret, Vt. Putnam's Regt. : knew him well ; saw him on the hill the night before the action ; heard him tell the officers they must exert themselves, for the British would fire as soon as light appeared. Saw him there again in the morning. One of the centinels jumped from his post on the fort ; he ordered another to be placed there who was not a coward. The fire from the British was very severe, the Gen. appeared unintimidated, as if they had not fired a gun.

ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, Edgecombe, Ford's company, deposes : Putnam ordered our company to carry the cannon, deserted by Callender, to the rail fence ; he accompanied the pieces himself, saw to the placing them and *until they commenced firing them*. I well recollect his expression at the second firing of one of the pieces, it was loaded with cannister and seemed to make a lane through them. What time Putnam left our company I cannot say, but he was with us at the rail fence when the battle began, animating the men and telling us not to fear.

EBEN'R. BANCROFT, Esq. Tyngsborough, Capt. in Bridge's Regt., Lieut. with Putnam when a Maj. in the French war, together several campaigns : has seen him often in the midst of danger ; his courage could not be doubted, nor his character impeached.

Was at the laying out of the works on Breed's Hill, the lines were marked out by Putnam. A party of Connecticut men under the direction of Gen. Putnam formed the rail breastwork, and lined it. Cannon were used on both sides. I loaded one piece myself twice ; we received from the field pieces of the enemy several shot through our gateway at time of the retreat.

He remarks, I believe (in a lost letter) that Col. Prescott and some of his officers informed some southern gentlemen, that in time of the action Putnam placed himself on the top of the hill where he could see the whole of the action.

JAS. CLARK, Capt., Gen. Putnam's Regt. : commanded 100 men, arrived at rail fence ten minutes after the action began, and before Charlestown was burnt. On the retreat saw Gen. Putnam for the fourth time that day, actively engaged in managing the retreat. Whenever I saw him on Bunker Hill, he appeared like a good soldier, firm, composed, vigilant, active, undaunted, in the discharge of the important duties of his station.

17th June last, he says, he was $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the Hill when small arms began.

Major JOHN BURNHAM, Londonderry, Lieut. in Little's Regt. : when arrived near the rail fence, saw Gen. Putnam. He appeared busily engaged in giving directions to the troops as they came up. He ordered my Capt. to get to the fort if he could ; passed by the fort and went to the *south* of it till we saw enemy's left flank ; Weber of my company was there with me and wounded.

A Committee of Mass. Congress report : we applied to Gen. Putnam and other officers who were in the heat of the engagement for further intelligence. Gen. Putnam informed us, as he was riding up Bunker Hill, he met an officer in the train drawing his cannon down in great haste ; he ordered the officer back, who replied he had no cartridges. The Gen. dismounted and examined his boxes, and found a considerable number of cartridges, upon which he ordered him back ; he refused until the Gen. threatened him with instant death, but soon deserted his post and left his cannon. Another officer, who had direction of another cannon, conducted much in the same way. Gen. Putnam declared one of these officers ought to be punished with death, and that unless exemplary punishment was inflicted he would assuredly leave the army. That on the defect of these officers, the reinforcements ordered up the Hill could not be prevailed on to go ; the plea was, the artillery was gone, and that they had no chance for their lives, declaring they had no officers to lead them.

Col. Putnam informed me,* that about this time his father offered to lead them on himself, entreated, threatened, and broke his sword over them knocking down a non-commissioned officer.

* His letter.

The following statements were published in the Patriot, by Gen. Dearborn.

GEN. M. M'CLARY, Epsom, was in the battle from beginning to end ; on the retreat saw Gen. Putnam ~~on~~ top of Bunker Hill with a spade in his hand ; has no recollection of seeing him in the battle.

GEN. PEIRCE, Hillsborough, Ford's company, went on to the Hill about 11 ; Putnam requested our company to drag Callender's cannon down Bunker Hill ; at Capt. Ford's persuasion, drew them to rail fence ; thinks he saw Gen. Putnam at that place, looking for some part of his sword ; did not hear him give any orders or assume any command except on top of Bunker Hill.

17th June last he says, he thinks Putnam was as brave as any man.

In a letter to Alden Bradford, Esq. he adds,

He thinks the action began a little before 1 ; thinks 15 or 1600 men were in Redoubt ; there was but one N. H. Regt. in the engagement, of which Poor was a field officer with Stark and M'Clary ; this Regt. left Medford at 10, and was on the battle ground one hour or more before action.

We need not say how worthless his recollections are.

Capt. S. R. TREVETT, Marblehead, Capt. Art.—About 1, the 17th, left Cambridge ; saw Putnam riding toward Cambridge, and back toward Charlestown in 10 or 15 minutes ; when arrived at the N. W. side of Bunker Hill,

[This was some time after the battle commenced, and after the first retreat of the British, as Capt. Trevett has very often informed me.]

saw Gen. Putnam dismounted and several others ; went to select a station for my pieces, saw Gen. Putnam on my return, the engagement was then going on ; arrived at rail fence when retreat commenced ; descending N. W. side of Bunker Hill, again saw Gen. Putnam in the same place putting his tent on his horse, asked him where I should carry my field piece, he said to Cambridge.

Maj. CALEB STARK, son of the Col. : arrived at top of Bunker Hill, saw Gerrish, and Putnam I was told it was, standing together. Gen. Putnam performed no part in the operations at Breed's Hill,

his station was Buaker Hill. The battle commenced about the middle of the afternoon.

I believe Col. Reed was not in the action.

[Witnesses to prove Putnam was not in the action, because they did not see him in a line of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile ! Could not see Col. Reed, who was fighting and commanding beside them, as well known and as easily proved as that Col. Stark was there !] X

According to Dr. Snow [Bost. Centinel], there was the same rivalry and jealousy between Reed and Stark, as appears on the side of Stark and his officers against Putnam ; the latter, Judge Advocate Tudor attributed to Gen. Putnam's interference with the irregularities of the N. H. troops, particularly some violence committed by Stark and his Regt. against Col. Hobart, the N. H. paymaster, on which a court was held under Gen. Green, which reported unfavorably to Col. Stark ;* but the matter, I believe, was adjusted by the parties.

Rob. K. WILKINS, Concord, [after a ridiculous peregrination]—saw Putnam and Gerrish about a hundred rods from our line, as I was going to rail fence, before firing with small arms commenced ; just before the retreat of the enemy from the fort, passed on to Bunker Hill, where I found Putnam and Gerrish again.

Rev. Wm. BENTLEY. Col. Stark said : “ My Chaplain—Had he [Gen. Putnam] done his duty, he would have decided the fate of his country in the first action.” He then described the “ pen,” as he called the inclosed works, and the *want of judgment* in the works.”

Was this all he blamed Putnam for ?

ABEL PARKER, Esq. Jaffrey. At the breastwork till wounded by the enemy, who flanked it ; then went into the fort ; remained till Prescott ordered a retreat. Has no hesitation in declaring Col. Small's story totally unfounded.

Hon. Thos. KITTREDGE, surgeon. About 11, going off, saw Putnam at the foot of Bunker Hill ; heard him request some of the men to go the fort and see if they could get some of the intrenching tools.

Rev. DAN'L CHAPLIN, D.D. Groton, and Rev. JOHN BULLARD, Pepperell. Were intimate with Col. Prescott ; he told us repeatedly, that when the retreat was ordered and *commenced*, and he was *descending* the Hill, he met Gen. Putnam and said to him, “ why did you not support me, General, with your men, as I had reason to ex-

* Gen. Ward's Ord. Book.

pect according to agreement?" Putnam answered, "I could not drive the dogs up." Prescott pointedly said to him, "if you could not drive them up, you might have led them up."

It is well known, as Hon. Mr. Webster observes in N. A. Review, that Putnam and Prescott were on terms of respectful friendship as long as they lived.

Deacon LAWRENCE, Groton. Gen. Putnam was not present either while the works were erecting, or during the whole battle. I continued in the redoubt during the whole of it; I could see distinctly the rail fence and the troops stationed there during the battle, but Gen. Putnam was not present as I saw. I saw Warren shot, and from that time till he expired.

This gentleman's memory is so impaired, that he has stated Col. Prescott to have been in a blue coat, and Warren in a blue coat and killed in the redoubt.

The following evidence is from the statements taken down in writing by Gen. Sullivan and other Directors of the Bunker Hill monument, assisted by Judge Thacher and one or two other gentlemen, at the request of the Directors, from surviving soldiers of the battle present at the celebration the 17th June last.

JOSHUA YEOMANS, Norwich, Gen. Putnam's Regt.—Helped build the fort the night before the battle, led on by Gen. Putnam. Was well acquainted with Gen. Putnam; saw a great deal of him in the action encouraging the men. I saw Gen. Putnam split a field-piece in the fort; he could not get the ball into the piece. He went to his saddle-bags [haversack] and took a canvas bag of musket balls [grape], loaded the cannon, and fired it at a number of officers who were consulting under a row of trees. I then went to rail fence; there saw Gen. Putnam riding along the whole line and crying out, "stick to your posts, men, and do your duty;" he was greatly exposed.

RICH'D GILCHRIST, Dublin, Stark's Regt. At the rail fence the whole action. Putnam rode up as we went on, said, "push on, Col. Stark, the enemy have landed and formed." I saw Gen. Putnam several times on foot encouraging the men.

BENJ'N MANN, Capt. in Reed's Regt. Was stationed at rail fence; was at dinner when the alarm was first given, and orders to march.

In the latter part of the engagement I saw Gen. Putnam on my right, toward the redoubt.

ISRAEL HUNT, Dunstable, Bridge's Regt. Gen. Putnam and Capt. Ford brought an iron field-piece to the rail fence, and fired it a number of times.

JOSEPH TRASK, Billerica, Gardner's Regt. Gen. Putnam ordered us down to right of fort ; rode back of our Regt. and said, " if any one offered to desert, run him through."

FRANCIS DAVIDSON, Londonderry, Ford's company, at rail fence. The enemy marched toward us under a heavy fire from their ships and their field pieces. We were ordered to lie down till the enemy were near enough to be within good gun shot ; this order was given by Gen. Putnam, who was near us at the time.

JOB SPAFFORD, Berlin, a Serjeant, Gen. Ward's Regt. We went to the rail fence. Gen. Putnam was employed in different places ; but the first time I remember distinctly to have seen him was about the time the retreat was ordered. He ordered us to retreat, by speaking, and by motion of his sword. He seemed to have the chief command on the hill and where we were.

JESSE SMITH, Salem, (*a respectable Merchant*,) was at rail fence ; fired 16 rounds : went off to get his musket fixed. Going up Bunker Hill saw Col. Gardner wounded, and saw Gen. Putnam on his horse riding about frothing at the mouth, urging the men there down to the line of battle ; returning to the line, retreat began.

A. DICKERSON, Amherst, Woodbridge's Regt. This and Col. Brewer's Regt. were led on by Gen. Putnam as a reinforcement.

Wm. FRENCH, Dunstable. By order of Putnam and Pomroy, we carried tools to neck ; heard British were coming ; some slunk off, a number went on. I went to rail fence, and was there all the action. I saw Gen. Putnam a number of times.

RUSSELL DEWEY, Westfield, went on just after action commenced ; saw Gen. Putnam urging the men into the action with his drawn sword.

BENJ'N BULLARD, Hopkinton, Capt. in Brewer's Regt. was in fort ; heard Putnam say, " Gods curse you," and saw him riding up and down ; knew him in French war.

ENOS LAKE, Ring, Reed's Regt. Went on just as battle began ; fired all my cartridges ; was at rail fence ; saw Putnam behind me once.

Wm. Low, Gloucester. Putnam ordered us to carry off intrenching tools ; our company went, followed him in Indian file down the Hill ; the shot flew as thick as hailstone. Putnam was as cool as ever man was. News came the British were landing ; Putnam then said it was too late, ordered every man to take a rail on his back, took one himself, went to the other rail fence, and we worked at doubling it. Fired 18 out of my 19 cartridges.

PHILIP BAGLEY, (*a respectable Dep. Sheriff at Newburyport, for nearly 30 years past,*) Frye's Regt. Went over night ; fought at the breastwork till they turned the corner of the rail fence and began to rake the whole breastwork. Saw Putnam pass up and down the line on horseback during the battle, encouraging the soldiers. The shot were very thick where he was ; he had a very calm, encouraging look. Knew him because I had seen him at Cambridge.

THOS. DAVIS, Holden. Saw Gen. Putnam on Bunker Hill ; he told a negro he would cut him down if he attempted to run ; he tried to get past, and Putnam struck him down with his sword.

JOHN HOLDEN, Leicester, Doolittle's Regt. Capt. afterwards in the army. In his statement and letter to the treasurer he says :— Early in the morning Putnam came to our Regt. stationed, the night before near Prospect Hill, and ordered it on to the Hill by 9 o'clock. We went, and soon took post on left of Col. Stark by rail fence. During the action I often saw Gen. Putnam come up to our Regt. ; he appeared very actively engaged in the action. One of the Regt. got down behind a haycock ; Gen. Putnam rode up and cried, “ Gods curse him ! run him through if he won't fight ! ” gave him one or two blows with his sword and drove him into the ranks.

SAM'L JONES, Sudbury, Doolittle's Regt.

[*This gentleman, and the next witness of E. Sudbury, are well known by Dr. Bigelow the distinguished Botanist, as witnesses of the highest respectability.*]

Was at the rail fence ; saw Gen. Putnam and spoke with him, he encouraged us very much, and rode up and down behind us, his horse was all of a lather, and the battle was going on very hotly at the time.

Mr. Jones has since informed me,

Our cannon were brought down behind the rail fence ; “ I recollect with perfect distinctness they were fired a number of times.”

NATHANIEL RICE, E. Sudbury. Was in the fort ; fired a musket I took from the British at Concord 26 times. Saw Putnam riding round, encouraging the people to the utmost, before the battle and during the battle.

JOSIAH CLEVELAND, of Canterbury, Conn. in '75, Putnam's Regt. Helped build Redoubt ; fought at rail fence. [In a detailed statement before Wm. Stevenson, Esq. he says :] Went night of 16th ; halted at neck by Gen. Putnam and ordered to load with 2 balls ; to march in profound silence ; Gen. Putnam at our head.. There was a consultation of officers on Bunker Hill. Gen. Putnam was advanced to front ; suppose he led us to Breed's Hill. Saw him soon after arriving there. He ordered out a guard to the shore ; I went ; returned at daylight ; found Putnam and others directing the works. He was doing this most part of the time till enemy landed ; he then ordered Conn. and part of Mass. troops to make the breast-work at rail fence. Before fire of muskets began, Putnam ordered us to lie down, and not to fire till we saw their buttons. An old soldier wanted to go off, he said, for water. Gen. Putnam told him, he depended on him as one of his best soldiers ; he persisted, and Gen. Putnam ran his sword through or into his arm and made him return to his duty. Fired 40 cartridges, borrowed 3 more. British had several pieces of field artillery ; one of our pieces was used at the rail fence. Knew Gen. Putnam very well.

SIMEON NOYES, Salem, Little's Regt. was in the fort. He deposes before B. Merrill, Esq. Salem :—The bell was ringing, I know not whether for 1 o'clock, or the alarm. Adjutant Jenkins rode up and hallooed, “ Turn out ! the enemy's all landed at Charlestown.” Col. Little and our Capt. went into the fort. Gen. Putnam rode up on his old white horse, and said to Lieut. Whitmore, the Capt. being out of hearing, “ Draw off your men here (pointing to the rail fence,) and man the rail fence ; the enemy are flanking us fast.” I was an eye-witness of this. Gen. Putnam was not in the fort during the engagement ; he was riding to and fro in all parts of the line, encouraging the men, pressing them forward, and giving orders to the officers. He did not stop long in any one place. I saw him several times during the battle. When we were retreating, he rode up to us with his tent and tent-poles on his horse, and asked why we were retreating. He said, we had been wishing to have the enemy come out, and now we had retreated, and had left the tools for them to fortify with ;—that we ought to be ashamed of such conduct. But our officers thought he was too fiery, and refused to go back as he wished.

Wm. MARDEN, Portsmouth, Gerrish's Regt. deposes before N. A. Haven, Esq. On reaching the top of Bunker Hill, saw Gen. Putnam on horseback, riding backward and forward, urging the men onwards to the charge, and presently saw him ride down the hill toward the enemy. Before we reached breastwork, retreat commenced.

The statements of the two following witnesses were taken by the Author.

AMOS FOSTER, Tewksbury. Putnam came and ordered some men to take tools, and he took some and went to Bunker Hill to fortify. The enemy's fire was so hot to the top of the hill, they had to leave and retreated to us. While we were firing at the enemy, heard Putnam tell us, to fire low. He was on horseback. I was at the rail fence, near breastwork. Two of our field-pieces were near me and fired a number of times. Hill, a British deserter, said we fired too high. The pieces were lowered; he said, with an oath, "you have made a furrow through them." He watched British field-pieces, and, when they were about to fire, we all laid down. One man was burned very badly by a cannon cartridge. I knew Putnam soon after Lexington battle.

Col. WADE, of Ipswich, Treasurer of Essex county, Capt. in Little's Regt. "The British field-pieces fired a great deal before small arms. I was at the rail fence. I saw Putnam, while we were engaged with the enemy, riding down Bunker Hill toward the rail fence. He was the only officer I saw on horseback. He seemed busily engaged bringing on troops. One of our cannon, deserted by Callender, was fired a number of times at rail fence very near me; two men in our Regt. Halliday and Dutton, of Newburyport, fired one of the cannon 3 or 4 times and hurraed very loud. On the retreat, I saw Putnam on Bunker Hill; there were intrenching tools there, and he tried to stop our troops to throw up works there. He said, 'make a halt here, my lads, and we can stop them yet.' "

The following statements were made at Adj. Gen. Sumner's office.

JOHN STEVENS, Andover, Frye's Regt. went over night. Was in the fort. Saw Putnam in the fort before small arms fired; told them, not to fire till they saw the white of their eyes. Threatened to kill some who fired too soon.

GEORGE LEACH, Salem, Whitcomb's Regt. Our company detached to the hill in the evening. Was at rail fence. Saw Putnam

repeatedly during the march to the Hill, urging and directing the men where to station themselves. In the height of the action, saw Putnam again at the fence encouraging the men.

DAVID BREWER, Framingham. Our Captain, afraid to go on, was marching off, when Putnam met us at the neck, and turned us back on to the hill.

JOS. TRASK, Billerica, Gardner's Regt. Putnam ordered them to make a breastwork on Bunker Hill, which they commenced. A short time afterwards, Putnam came back, and ordered the Col. to march and take a position. Saw Putnam repeatedly at the fence during the action, encouraging the men and officers, calling out to the officers to drive the men up, and not let them flinch. Knew Putnam well; for some time one of his guard.

Before publishing the Sketch, the Author received the following testimony.

A Certificate from THOMAS DAY, Esq. Secretary of the State of Connecticut, that, from the records of that State, it appears, Gen. Putnam was in April, 1775, appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut, Brigadier-General, Colonel of the second Regt. and Capt. of the first company of that regiment.

ELIJAH JOURDAN, Bucksfield, *deposes before a very respectable Magistrate, Sam'l F. Brown, Esq. who certifies, with another person, that Jourdan possesses an unblemished character :*

"Helped build the intrenchments, and fought within the intrenchment till the British took possession of our fort; during which time, I perfectly well remember that Gen. Putnam was in the said intrenchment [breastwork] very frequently during the engagement, giving orders as commander in chief; and I perfectly recollect, that he was in the fort* when the reinforcement of the British came up. While we were waiting for the British to come up the Hill, orders were given to us not to fire till we could see the whites of their eyes; and this order, I was then told, came from Gen. Putnam; but I did not hear it from him. I knew Gen. Putnam's person perfectly well at that time, having frequently seen him before."

* This was a little before the battle; during the battle the distinguished hero and patriot Col. Prescott had the entire and uncontrolled command in the Redoubt.

Col. J. PAGE, of Atkinson, stated before John Vose, Esq. :
 "Was in the action. Saw Gen. Putnam, before the action commenced, conducting cannon to the fort; saw him after the firing commenced. Well recollects he thought Putnam did not want courage."

AARON SMITH, Shrewsbury; statement before S. D. Ward, Esq.

"I assisted in preparing the intrenchment at the rail fence, under Putnam's orders; and was, during the whole battle, at that place. Putnam was active, so far as I saw, in discharge of his duty. Though I served a considerable length of time, never heard that he was chargeable with any misconduct. He appeared to me to have, and I always understood he had, the command of the troops."

EZRA RUNNELS, Middleborough, deposes before Wilkes Wood, Esq.

"I belonged to Capt. Gridley's artillery company. Went on to the Hill with the company, and 2 small pieces, the evening before the battle; and was at and near the redoubt during the battle, until our party retreated. I well remember of seeing Gen. Putnam at the breastwork during the battle. Before that time, residing in Groton, Connecticut, was personally acquainted with him. I repeatedly saw him during the action walking upon the breastwork and animating the men to exert themselves. Capt. Gridley, having received some cartridges which were too large for our pieces, said that nothing could be done with them, and left his post, and our company was scattered. General Putnam came to one of the pieces, near which I stood, and furiously inquired where our officers were? On being told our cartridges were too big, and that the pieces could not be loaded, he swore, and said they could be loaded, taking a cartridge, he broke it open, and loaded the pieces with a ladle, which was discharged; and assisted us in loading two or three times in that manner."

Col. Jos. WHITMORE, Newburyport, Lieut. in Little's Regt. well known as a most respectable witness, a native of Charlestown, brought up as an apprentice by Richard Devens, Esq. stated before a Magistrate, Hon. Ebenezer Moseley. "Went with part of his company down to the left of Redoubt, near some trees which were standing, and there received the attack. On the retreat, Col. Whitmore was wounded in his thigh. The Col. states, that, at the very moment he was wounded, Gen. Warren fell, and was within six feet of him. As it respects Gen. Putnam, Col. Whitmore states, that he knew Gen. Putnam perfectly well; that he was well acquainted with him in the

old French war ; that he saw Gen. Putnam on Breed's Hill when he went on with his company, and also on the retreat soon after he was wounded, on the side of the Hill. He says, that, well knowing Gen. Putnam and the Gen. knowing him, he said, " General, shan't we rally again ? " Gen. Putnam said, " Yes, as soon as we can, are you wounded ? "

PHILIP JOHNSON, Esq. of Newburyport, same company, states before same Magistrate :

Was at the rail fence. While there, just before the action began, he saw Gen. Putnam on horseback very near him, and distinctly heard him say, " Men, you know you are all marksmen, you can take a squirrel from the tallest tree. Don't fire till you see the whites of their eyes." Immediately after the first retreat of the British, Gen. Putnam rode up and said, " Men, you have done well, but next time you will do better, aim at the officers." The British entered the redoubt without much firing, and the retreat commenced. Just as Mr. Johnson left his place at the rail fence, about half a gun shot from the redoubt, General Putnam rode up, his horse covered with foam, and said something, he does not distinctly know what, and rode off. " The balls were flying as thick as peas." More unexceptionable witnesses than these two never testified.

COL. SMALL. Col. PUTNAM, son of the General, states, that, soon after the battle, Col. Small sent a present to his father by a flag, with warm acknowledgments for the great obligation he was under. Col. Putnam requesting an explanation, his father said, he had long been an intimate friend of Small, and loved him as a brother. That, after the enemy were repulsed from the left and centre where he was, the firing continued brisk on the right, to which he rode quickly ; the enemy were just retreating. The smoke and dust clearing off, the first thing he saw was Small, standing alone, close to the breastwork, deserted by his men. An American drew up his piece to level at him ; Putnam prevented him, and hallooed aloud to those near who were preparing to fire : " don't fire, he's a friend of mine." He was obeyed, and Small, thanking him, escaped.

Small, in a subsequent billet, invited Putnam to meet him. By Washington's advice, he complied ; received pressing invitations to join the British, and promise of high rank and emolument for himself and sons if he would. These offers were spurned, and communicated to Washington, who advised him, as the times were jealous, to say nothing of it.

[N. B. There is no difficulty in reconciling the foregoing testimony, as to Putnam's being at the Breastwork when the action began there, as it did first, and at the rail fence when it commenced there, afterward, if they were 40 rods apart ; but if necessary, to reconcile witnesses, we may suppose, with Stedman and other high authorities, that the rail fence and breastwork approached very near each other, and were even in contact.

NOTE B.

The hot fire to the top of Bunker Hill.

The musketry fire appears sufficiently from the evidence immediately preceding, though we have more ; and from Col. Gardner's mortal wound from a musket-ball, when Capt. Trevett states he was beside him, on top of Bunker Hill. We know that British muskets, elevated, will carry near a mile, from our own experience ; and, from the opinion of Gen. Millar, Gen. Boyd, and Maj. Brooks, the distance here was little more than $\frac{1}{4}$.

The formidable cannonade is asserted by Benj'a Butman, Postmaster of Dixmont, Amos Foster, before mentioned ; Capt. Trevett lost a gun carriage and one of his men by it. Dr. Dexter says, this fire kept the top of the Hill clear of troops after 12 o'clock.

NOTE C.

Gen. Putnam's command in the Battle.

No orders for the conduct and command of this expedition can be found. Gen. Ward's orderly book is silent in regard to it. They must be gathered from circumstantial evidence and parol testimony. Gen. Putnam's papers were destroyed by his son emigrating to the western country. The only orderly books I find of his troops commenced directly after the battle.

Putnam, according to the official certificate of Mr. Day, Secretary of the State of Connecticut, was appointed Brig. Gen. by that colony in April, '75. He came to Cambridge immediately after Lexington battle. 27th April, '75, Col. Huntington, of the Conn. troops, writes Gov. Trumbull, from Cambridge (Mass. Hist. Lib.), "Gen. Ward being at Roxbury, Gen. Putnam is Commander in Chief at this place." His son, who was then with him, states, he had a separate command of 3 Regts. near the place where the British landed pre-

vious to Lexington battle. Maj. Daniel Jackson, the 16. June, '75, made the following entry in a journal kept by him at the time :— “Gen. Putnam with the army went to intrench on Bunker Hill.”

Capt. Trevett, senior Capt. of artillery, on the day of the battle inquired officially of his commanding officer, Maj. Gridley, then in command of all the artillery at Cambridge, and whose father, Col. Gridley, was inferior to no one in the councils of war, “ who had command of the troops ?” and was informed by him, “Gen. Putnam ;” he observed at the time, “then there is nothing to fear.” He consequently applied to Gen. Putnam for orders, and received them.

Doctor Aaron Dexter, in a statement from written memoranda, made at the time and preserved by him, says : That, the day after the battle, he was at Gen. Ward’s quarters, and was informad by the officers there, that Gen. Putnam had command of all the troops which were sent down over night, and which might be ordered there the next day.

Col. Humphreys, in his life of Putnam, says, Gen. Warren went to Breed’s Hill over night, and had the command. We learn from Col. Putnam, that all the biography of his father, during our revolution, was written at Mount Vernon, without any communication with Gen. Putnam on the subject, and without his knowledge. An account of Gen. Putnam’s life, preceding the revolution, was communicated to Col. Humphreys, by Dr. Waldo, a man of genius, who obtained his information from the Gen. at Col. Humphreys’ request.

On the statement of Col. Humphreys, the Rev. Mr. Whitney, in a note to his funeral discourse on Gen. Putnam, remarks. “ The true state of the case was this : The detachment was at first put under the command of Gen. Putnam ; with it he took possession of the Hill, and ordered the battle from the beginning to the end. These facts Gen. Putnam himself gave me soon after the battle, and also repeated them to me after his Life was printed.”

Gen. Putnam made these same declarations to his son. In support of his declarations we have his unsuspected honor and scrupulous religious principles. The Rev. Mr. Mosely states, he was one of the main pillars of Mr. Whitney’s church ; on account of the profanity he had committed during the war, he made a public confession and humiliation before the whole church and congregation, though his pastor deemed it needless.

The only tittle of evidence we know of, in opposition to this testimony, is, that Col. Scamman published in a newspaper the report of a Court Martial, held on him, and to the very unfavorable testimony of Col. Whitcomb, as he is called by the Court, (who remark that the witnesses call him Gen.) Scamman, undoubtedly, if not, the printer, by way of revenge annexes the following “ N. B. Col. Whitcomb “ acted as a Gen. Officer, and as there was no Gen. Officer who com-

*"manded on Bunker Hill, was it not his duty to have been there?"**

It appears from the witnesses in this trial, under oath, that Col. Scamman, while the battle was going on, *sent to Gen. Putnam at Bunker Hill* to see if he was wanted, (his Serjeant swears he was thus sent, and it is not denied,) and that the Regt. went to the top of Bunker Hill ; " after which Gen. Putnum came up and ordered " the Regt. to advance, within hearing of Col. Scamman."

We can only say, 3000 of our ancestors would never have gone out to battle without some one to command the whole.

The conduct of Gen. Putnam the night before the battle, and during the engagement, has been sufficiently detailed and proved.

NOTE D.

The number of the British was about 5,000.

This is stated in the Pennsylvania Packet, July 3d, '75, from a number of authorities ; the N. H. Gazette, June 27, '75, from a number of authorities. In a letter from Capt. Job Bradford, a near relative of Alden Bradford, Esq. 19th June, '75, published in those papers, he says : he came out of Boston the 18th, and the British troops, which went over the day of the battle, were 5000. The corps of the enemy sent over can't be estimated at less ; they can be ascertained from various sources, especially De Berniere's plan of the battle, of the highest authority. His high standing appears from Gen. Gage's employing him, (with another distinguished officer, Capt. Brown, son-in-law of the patriot James Otis, afterwards wounded in the battle,) on the dangerous and difficult service of reconnoitring Suffolk and Worcester counties, preparatory to hostilities. His opportunities for gaining information from the battle ground, and other sources, were the best which existed.

NOTE E.

Duration of the Battle an hour and a half or two hours.

Penn. Packet, June 26, '75 : " An express says, the battle lasted about two hours. This account is from Elijah Hyde, a spectator of the battle the whole time from Winter Hill." N. H. Gazette, 27. June, '75 : " Bore as heavy a fire as was ever known of musketry and cannon, for 2 hours." Capt. Mann, 17. June last, states : Battle began about 3, and retreat about 5. Gen. Winslow

* Scamman met Whitcomb early in the day, near Lechmere Point. Perhaps he knew that Putnam was absent from the Hill at that time, and meant Whitcomb ought then to have been there.

stated, the reinforcement arrived a little before 3. [battle began soon after.] Gov. Brooks met the troops retreating about 5.

NOTE F.

No Battery in Mystic River.

Gov. Brooks ; also Dr. Dexter, who was very advantageously situated on Chelsea marshes to view the engagement, is confident of this. We might add a multitude of names ; but this point is almost the only one on which witnesses disagree, except as to the time of the clock when any thing occurred, in respect to which the mistakes of the soldiers are almost ludicrous.*

There are authorities, perfectly decisive and satisfactory against the presence of a battery in the Mystic. In a very valuable work, "Detail and Conduct of the American War under Sir Wm. Howe," &c. praised in the Monthly Review, and which rapidly passed to a third edition, it is adduced as gross neglect, in the British commander that no such battery was placed there. The same charge is repeated in the history of Stedman, a British officer. There was not any, or the Mass. Cong. would have mentioned it, in their official account. The mistake arose from the profusion of balls which flew in so many directions, and from a floating battery's going up the river directly after the battle.

NOTE G.

Cannon were employed a great deal on both sides.

Although this has been formally denied, it would be as ridiculous gravely to prove a fact so notorious, by accumulating the vast mass of uniform testimony on this point, as to show that the breastwork did not point up toward Cambridge, but ran down toward the Mystic. We might dwell on the emphatic declarations in the official accounts of both belligerents, the indisputable testimony of De Berniere, Stedman, and the mass of evidence preceding ; we merely add, Capt. Ford himself stated to Professor Stearns of the University, that Putnam gave him orders concerning Callender's cannon ; his men carried them to the rail fence ; and that he fired one of them a number of times himself.

* They were very much in the situation of the king of Prussia's serjeant, who wore a bullet for a watch, and when his majesty who had learnt this, asked him the time of day by his watch, he answered that his only reminded him that he was to be ready to die at any time in his Majesty's service. The king presented him his own watch ; our ancestors gained a greater reward.

Gen. Winslow stated to me, he was informed by the British officers that the mistake as to the oversized cannon balls was rectified, and a new supply sent over before the engagement. From subsequent evidence, however, it appears that they were not there in season to be employed on the first attack.

Dr. Jeffries informed me, that the mistake in sending over cartridges too large for the British cannon was committed by a young son of Master Lovell, who received his appointment in the ordnance department from old General Cleveland the head of it, who was in love with his sister. This mistake perhaps, which rendered the first attack by their field pieces faint, was decisive of our success on their two first attacks, and secured to us all the advantages of a victory throughout the engagement. The very authentic and satisfactory work we quoted above, "the Conduct of the War by Gen. Howe, &c." observes on this subject, "The wretched blunder of oversized balls came from the dotage of an officer of rank in that corps, who "spends all his time with the schoolmaster's daughters. God knows "he is old enough; he is no Samson, yet he must have his Dalilah."

NOTE H.

We related in the first edition of our Sketch, a remarkable anecdote of a Clergyman, who was on the battle-ground at Bunker Hill, and extremely desirous of saying prayers over the body of Asa Pollard, the first victim who fell. We did so on the authority of Col. Prescott himself, and one of his Capts. as reported to us by Hon. Wm. Prescott, of Boston, the only son of Col. Prescott, and who has ever worthily supported the honour of his name. To those, who have taken trouble to peruse the newspapers of that period, it is perfectly well known, that the Clergyman, who was present and highly distinguished himself in Bunker hill battle, by valiantly fighting the foe, was the Rev. John Martin.* He was justly rewarded for his gallantry by a chaplaincy in a Rhode Island Regt. ; and soon after the battle he preached a discourse from the following very appropriate text. Neh. 4. 14. "And I said unto the nobles, and to the rulers, "and to the rest of the people, Be not ye afraid of them : remember "the Lord which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, "your sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses." This text and chapter were selected with peculiar happiness for the occasion, and the application was peculiarly congenial with the taste of our ancestors.

P. S. The minute occurrences of Bunker hill battle have never been published. This will be done by the author, if the Public can tolerate any further notes on the subject.

* N. H. Gazette, 18 July 1775.

NOTE K.

Robert Steele (of Dedham) drummer, beat yankee doodle on the day of the battle, was drum major during the war, instructed by Steele, received two badges of merit, and had the honour of carrying every flag while the army were opposed to Burgoyne. On 17th June last, he had the satisfaction of beating the same tune, on the same spot, for the procession which laid the corner stone of a monument to commemorate the engagement, and of meeting 200 of his surviving companions in the battle on the same day, who all declared it the happiest of their lives. Parks, (of Cambridge) who blew the ear-piercing fife for Gardner's regt., afterwards fife major in the army, says yankee doodle was first employed at this time, being introduced by the British to ridicule the yankees. Parks' talents are still in requisition as an accomplished fifer, and by labour and industry he has honorably educated and maintained his family of 25 children.

NOTE L.

Frost says, we fought behind some stones we threw up, on the shore of the Mystic ; I received a ball through the hip, and could not retreat, but crept in among the British wounded. In the morning I was discovered, and an officer ordered me to be carried to the fort ; the soldiers damned me and threatened to run me through if I did not rise and walk, but I was too stiff to move. They hauled the about till I became more limber, I took hold of their shoulders, hopped to the fort, was confined in Boston jail, and carried to Halifax ; in about a year, broke jail and went to R. Island to enlist again, but they would not accept me on account of my lameness.

NOTE M.

Gen. Winslow stated, a contribution was made in the army for Salem and he was presented to Washington as having slain Pitcairn, who was killed on the British left, according to all authorities. De Berniere places his marines there opposed to some houses near the redoubt and the "Conduct of the war, &c." says he was shot from some Charlestown houses. Four balls were lodged in him. He was much beloved in Boston, and the English papers contain the highest eulogies on him as a gentleman, soldier, husband and father. When slain, his son in agony exclaimed "I've lost my father," his soldiers ceased firing, and responded with that most eloquent eulogy "we've all of us lost a father." His family were pensioned, and his son promoted before his turn in his father's corps.

Many northern blacks were excellent soldiers, but southern troops could not brook an equality with negroes. Nov. 15, 1775, Washington prohibited their enlistment. Besides Salem, Cuffee Whittemore fought bravely in the redoubt. He had a ball through his hat on Bunker Hill, fought to the last, and when compelled to retreat, though wounded, the splendid arms of the British officers were prizes too tempting for him to come off empty handed, he seized the sword of one of them slain in the redoubt, and came off with the trophy, which

In a few days he unromantically sold. He served faithfully through the war, with many hair-breadth 'scapes from sword and pestilence.

It was not till the 29th June, that some other coloured allies joined the Americans, principally out of respect to Putnam, some Indian warriors from Canada ; but they were unmanageable and soon dismissed.

Col. James Reed, a highly respectable officer, was stationed at Ticonderoga, in '76, and took the small pox, by which he lost his eye-sight for life. Col. Stark was dissatisfied at Col. Poor's being promoted to a brigadier gen. over him, and his letter to congress, complaining of it, not being noticed, he left the service, joined the N. H. militia as Brig. Gen. marched with these troops to protect the frontiers, independently of the national army, and gained his famous victories. Congress had resolved that the instructions which he had received were destructive of military subordination, but they now inquired of him why he did not inform them of his success. He answered that his correspondence with them was closed, as they had not attended to his last letters ; they presented their thanks to him, his officers and troops, and promoted him to a Brigadier General.

The excessive variations in the military career of Col. Nixon are scarcely paralleled ; those only of Col. Morgan perhaps can be compared with them. We believe, when he first entered service, a mere lad, he was tempted by two other soldiers much older than himself to desert, they were taken and condemned to be shot, but on account of his youth the platoon was ordered to fire at the two others only, and spare him. He fell senseless at the shock, and was afterward a brave Brig. Gen. But in the new organization of the army, at the latter part of the war, was left out of service.

Putnam's Capt, now Col. Clark, having been promoted, is the oldest surviving soldier of the battle, being 95, his bodily and mental powers are in astonishing preservation, he was one of the most lively of those at the celebration in June last, and his son, 64, was kept away by old age.

The oath for Off. and men was to serve faithfully in the Mass. army for defence and security of estates, lives and liberties of the good people of this and sister Colonies against ministerial tyranny, and to all other enemies and opposers, &c. to adhere to rules and regulations of army, obey officers over them, and disclose to said officers any conspiracies, attempts, &c. against said army or colonies.

Besides the N. H. troops already mentioned, a large company, 110, went from Exeter the day after Lexington battle, and staid at Cambridge 10 days, till recalled to guard the seaboard. John T. Gilman, afterward in the continental congress, and for 14 years Governor of N. Hampshire, went with these troops.

Gov. Brooks's declaration, page 23, line 5, was not taken in writing.

Wounded and made Prisoners. Serjeant Robt. Phelps, Phineas Nevers, Oliver Stevens, Dani. M'Grath, John Perkins, Amasa Fisk, Daniel Sessions, Jona. Norton, Philip J. Peck, Benj. Bigelow, Benj. Wilson, Archibald M'Intosh, David Kemp, John Deland, Lawrence Sullivan, Timothy Kettle, Wm. Robison, Benj. Ross, John Dillon, Wm. Kench, Jas. Dodge, Wm. Rollinson, John Lord, Jas. Milliken, Steph Foster.

[Mass. Officers, probably in the battle, from a list on file of Congress endorsed as of those communicated 18 May '76, probably a very few officers were added before 30th June, when the Com. of Cong. certify they detected commissions to those on the list.]

Capt., **Gen. WARD'S Regt.**
Lieuts., **Gen. or 2d Lieut.**
Capt., **Jos. Richardson** **Jos. Reed**
Seth Washburn **Adj. Daniel Hardy, Qr. Mr. Benj. Foster.**

BRIDGES.
Capt., **Benj. Walker**
John Batchelder
Eben. Baucroft
Peter Coburn
John Ford
John Rowa
Charles Fortbush
Adjt. Joseph Fox, **Qr. Mr. John Bridge.**

Lieuts., **Jos. Livermore**
Loring Lincoln
Ezra Reman
Wm. Brigham
Paul Briggs
Aaron Abby
Jones Brown
Wm. Gates
Tbos. Sever
Obadiah Mann
Elizab. Lymans
Jas. Hart
Adjt. Wm. Boyd, **Qr. Mr. Ed. Flynt.**

PRESCOTT'S.
Levi Wharrey
Jos. Stebbins
Nathl. Lakin
Annast. Fasset
{ Eben. Pecking
Jos. Spaulding
Ass. Parker
Jos. Gilbert
Ol. Parker
Sam. Gilbert
Jos. Moors
Ahiah Wyman
Samuel Patch
Reuben Dow

BREWERS.
Henry Farwell
Hugh Maxwell
Jan. Nutting
Jos. Parker
Ass. Parker
Jos. Spaulding
Edphraim Corey
Zaccheus Walker
Thos. Spaulding
Jos. Baker
John Black
Aaron Haynes
Daniel Whiting
Benl. Fullard
Thaddeus Russell
Joshua Harris,
Isaac Abbott
John Blackwell
Ephip. Peckley
Nathl. Herrick
Ino. Robinson
Eliphiel Hardy
Timo. Johnson
John Merrill
Wells Chase
Samuel Johnson
Wm. H. Billard

Capt. , Gen. WARD'S Regt. Lieuts. , Gen. or 2d Lieut.	Capt. , David Moore Thomas Drury Samuel M. Cobb Eben. Winship Adj. Abe Holden. Qr. Mr. John White.	Capt. , Mich. Goodenow Wm. Maynard Benj. Parrie William Warren Rich Buckminster
Capt. , Jos. Richardson Jos. Reed Seth Washburn Adj. Daniel Hardy, Qr. Mr. Benj. Foster.	Lieuts. , Reuben Dickinson Zaccheus Crocker Daniel Shays* Noadiah Leonard Jonah Smith Stephen Pearl Aaron Rowley	Lieuts. , Reuben Dickinson Zaccheus Crocker Daniel Shays* Noadiah Leonard Jonah Smith Stephen Pearl Aaron Rowley
BRIDGES. Capt. , Benj. Walker John Flynt Eben. Dammon Nathl. Holden Peter Coburn John Ford John Rowa Charles Fortbush Adjt. Joseph Fox , Qr. Mr. John Bridge.	Lieuts. , Eben. Fitch James Bancroft Samuel Brown Eben. Varnum Isaac Foster Jonas Parker Mark Pool Benj. Blanchard John Cewis Ichabod Dexter, John King Seth Murray Asa Barnes	Capt. , Reuben Dickinson Zaccheus Crocker Daniel Shays* Noadiah Leonard Jonah Smith Stephen Pearl Aaron Rowley
LITTLE'S. Capt. , Jacob Gerish Silas Adams Nathl. Warner Nathl. Wade Abraham Dodge John Baker Ezra Lant Benjamin Perkins Jos. Whitemore Gideon Parker Joe. Ereytey Joe. Roby Timo. Barnard Stephen Jenkins , Adjt. Thomas Hoddings, Qr. Mr.	LIEUTS. , Thomas Brown Daniel Collins Aaron Parker Jos. Lord John Dresser Nathl. Montgomery Wm. Stickey Moses Trask Enoch Parsons Amos Atkinson Paul Lunt John Fletcher Adam Wheeler John Holman John Jones Saml. Thompson Thomas Glover Jonas Allen John Letland	Capt. , Reuben Dickinson Zaccheus Crocker Daniel Shays* Noadiah Leonard Jonah Smith Stephen Pearl Aaron Rowley
DOOLITTLE'S. Capt. , John Wheeler Elijah Stearns John Bowler Saml. Thompson Abraham Pennel John Cewis Saml. Weller John Letland	Capt. , John Wheeler Elijah Stearns John Bowler Saml. Thompson Abraham Pennel John Cewis Saml. Weller John Letland	Capt. , John Wheeler Elijah Stearns John Bowler Saml. Thompson Abraham Pennel John Cewis Saml. Weller John Letland
WHITCOMB'S. Capt. , Timo. Bonelle Jona. Guild Ednar. Wood — West	Capt. , Gen. Putnam Jean. Dana Lt. Col. Storrs Jean. Dana Gen. Durkay J. Huntington Lt. Col. Johnson Eph. Lyon T. Kowtow Rauh James Clark Dan. Tilden Eph. Manning Steph. Lyon	Capt. , Gen. Putnam Jean. Dana Lt. Col. Storrs Jean. Dana Gen. Durkay J. Huntington Lt. Col. Johnson Eph. Lyon T. Kowtow Rauh James Clark Dan. Tilden Eph. Manning Steph. Lyon

Conn. Officers appointed April '76, from the State Records.
Capt., **Gen. Putnam** **Jean. Dana**
Lt. Col. Storrs **Jean. Dana**
Gen. Durkay **J. Huntington**
Lt. Col. Johnson **Eph. Lyon**
T. Kowtow **Rauh**
James Clark **Dan. Tilden**
Eph. Manning **Steph. Lyon**

* Leader of the insurgents.

GAGE'S OFFICIAL ACCOUNT.

An alarm was given at break of day, on the 17th inst. by a firing from the lively ship of war; and advice was soon afterward received that the rebels had broke ground, and were raising a battery on the heights of the peninsula of Charlestown, against the town of Boston. They were plainly seen at work, and, in a few hours, a battery of six guns played upon their works. Preparations were instantly made for landing a body of men to drive them off; and ten companies of the grenadiers, ten of light infantry, with the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proportion of field artillery, under the command of major general Howe, and brigadier general Pigot, were embarked with great expedition, and landed on the peninsula without opposition, under the protection of some ships of war, armed vessels, and boats, by whose fire the rebels were kept within their works. The troops formed as soon as landed; the light infantry posted on the right, and the grenadiers upon their left. The 5th, and 38th battalions drew up in the rear of those corps, and the 43d and 52d battalions make a third line. The rebels upon the heights were perceived to be in great force, and strongly posted. A redoubt was thrown up on the 16th, at night, with other works, full of men, defended with cannon, and a large body posted in the houses in Charlestown, covered their right flank; and their center and left were covered by a breast-work, part of it cannon-proof, which reached from the left of the redoubt to the Mystic or Medford river. This appearance of the rebels' strength, and the large columns seen pouring in to their assistance, occasioned an application for the troops to be reinforced with some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, the 47th battalion, and the 1st battalion of marines; the whole when in conjunction, making a body of something above 2000 men. These troops advanced, formed in two lines, and the attack began by sharp cannonade from the field pieces and the howitzers, the lines advancing slowly, and frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire. The light infantry was directed to force the left point of the breast-work, to take the rebel line in flank, and the grenadiers to attack in front, supported by the 5th and 52d battalions. These orders were executed with perseverance, under a heavy fire from the vast numbers of the rebels; and notwithstanding various impediments before the troops could reach the works, and though the left, under brigadier general Pigot, was engaged also with the rebels at Charlestown, which, at a critical moment, was set on fire, the brigadier pursued his point, and carried the redoubt.

The rebels were then forced from other strong holds, and pursued till they were driven clear off the peninsula, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them. The loss the rebels sustained must have been considerable, from the great numbers they carried off during the time of action, and buried in holes, since discovered; exclusive of what they suffered by the shipping and boats; near 100 were buried the day after, and thirty found wounded, in the field, three of which are since dead. I inclose your lordship a return of the killed and wounded of his majesty's troops. This action has shown the superiority of the king's troops, who, under every disadvantage, attacked and defeated above three times their own number, strongly posted and covered by breast-works.

The conduct of major general Howe was conspicuous on this occasion, and his example inspired the troops, in which maj. gen. Clinton assisted, who followed the reinforcement. And in justice to brig. gen. Pigot, I am to add, that the success of the day must, in great measure, be attributed to his firmness and gallantry. Lieut. col. Nesbitt, Abercrombie, and Clarke; Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairn and Short, exerted themselves remarkably; and the valour of the British officers and soldiers in general, was at no time more conspicuous than in this action.

Killed and wounded. 1 Lieut. col., 2 majors, 7 captains, 9 lieutenants, 15 serjeants, 1 drummer, 191 rank and file, killed. 3 Majors, 27 captains, 89 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 49 serjeants, 12 drummers, 700 rank and file, wounded.

MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESS ACCOUNT.

In obedience to the order of the general congress, this committee have inquired into the premises, and, upon the best information obtained, find, that the commanders of the New England army had, about the fourteenth ult. received advice that general Gage had issued orders for a party of the troops under his command to post themselves on Quaker's hill, a promontory just at the entrance of the peninsula, at Charlestown, which orders were soon to be executed; upon which it was determined, with the advice of this committee, to send a party, who might erect some fortifications upon the said hill, and defeat the design of our enemies. Accordingly, on the 16th ult., orders were issued that a detachment of one thousand men should that evening march to Charlestown, and intrench upon that hill. Just before nine o'clock they left Cambridge, and proceeded to Breed's Hill, situated on the further part of the peninsula, next to Boston, (for by some mistake this hill was marked out for the intrenchment instead of the other.) Many things being necessary to be done preparatory to the intrenchments being thrown up, which could not be done before, lest the enemy should discover and defeat the design, it was nearly twelve o'clock before the works were entered upon. They were then carried on with the utmost diligence and alacrity; so that by the dawn of day they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. At this time a heavy fire began from the enemy's ships, a number of floating batteries, and from a fortification of the enemy's, upon Copp's Hill, in Boston, directly opposite our little redoubt. An incessant shower of shot and bombs was rained by these upon our works. The Americans continued to labour indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breast-work, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, but were prevented completing it by the intolerable fire of the enemy. Between twelve and one o'clock, a number of boats and barges, filled with the regular troops from Boston, were observed approaching towards Charlestown; these troops landed at a place called Mardon's Point, situated a little to the eastward of our works. This brigade formed upon their landing, and stood thus formed till a second detachment arrived from Boston to join them; having sent out large flank guards, they began a very slow march towards our lines. At this instant, smoke and flames were seen to arise from the town of Charlestown, which had been set on fire by the enemy, that the smoke might cover their attack upon our lines, and perhaps with a design to rout or destroy one or two of our regiments who had been posted in that town. If either of these was their design, they were disappointed; for the wind shifting on a sudden, carried the smoke another way, and the regiments were already removed. Our troops, within their intrenchments, impatiently awaited the attack of the enemy, and reserved their fire till they came within ten or twelve rods, and then began a furious discharge of small arms. This fire arrested the enemy, which they for some time returned, without advancing a step, and then retreated in disorder and with great precipitation to the place of landing, and some of them sought refuge even within their boats. Here the officers were observed by the spectators on the opposite shore, to run down to them, using the most passionate gestures, and pushing the men forward with their swords. At length they were rallied, and marched up, with apparent reluctance, towards the intrenchments; the Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy came within five or six rods, and a second time put the regulars to flight, who ran in great confusion towards their boats. Similar and superior exertions were now necessarily made by the officers, which, notwithstanding the men discovered, an almost insuperable reluctance to fighting in this cause, were again successful. They formed once more, and having brought some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake the inside of the breast-work, from one end of it to the other, our troops retreated within their little fort. The ministerial army now made a decisive

effort. The fire from the ships and batteries, as well as from the cannon in the front of their army, was redoubled. The officers in the rear of their army were observed to goad forward the men with renewed exertions, and they attacked the redoubt on three sides at once. The breast-work on the outside of the fort was abandoned; our ammunition was expended, and but few of our troops had bayonets to affix to their muskets. Can it then be wondered that the word was given by the commander of the party to retreat? but this he delayed till the redoubt was half filled with regulars, and our troops had kept the enemy at bay some time, confronting them with the butt end of their muskets, the retreat of this little handful of brave men would have been effectually cut off, had it not happened that the flanking party of the enemy, which was to have come upon the back of the redoubt, was checked by a party of our men, who fought with the utmost bravery, and kept them from advancing farther than the beach; the engagement of these two parties was kept up with the utmost vigour; and it must be acknowledged that this party of the ministerial troops evinced a courage worthy of a better cause: all their efforts however were insufficient to compel their equally gallant opponents to retreat, till their main body had left the hill; perceiving this was done, they then gave ground, but with more regularity than could be expected of troops who had no longer been under discipline, and many of whom never before saw an engagement.

In this retreat the Americans had to pass over the neck which joins the peninsula of Charlestown to the main land. This neck was commanded by the Glasgow man of war, and two floating batteries, placed in such a manner as that their shot raked every part of it. The incessant fire kept up across this neck had, from the beginning of the engagement, prevented any considerable reinforcements from getting to our troops on the hill, and it was feared it would cut off their retreat, but they retired over it with little or no loss.

With a ridiculous parade of triumph, the ministerial generals again took possession of the hill which had served them as a retreat in flight from the battle of Concord. It was expected that they would prosecute the supposed advantage they had gained, by marching immediately to Cambridge, which was distant but two miles, and which was not then in a state of defence. This they failed to do. The wonder excited by such conduct soon ceased, when, by the best accounts from Boston, we are told, that of 3000 men who marched out upon this expedition, no less than 1500 (ninety-two of whom were commissioned officers) were killed or wounded; and about 1200 of them either killed or mortally wounded. Such a slaughter was perhaps never before made upon British troops in the space of about an hour, during which the heat of the engagement lasted, by about 1500 men, which were the most that were at any time engaged on the American side. The loss of the New England army amounted, according to an exact return, to 146 killed and missing, and 304 wounded: thirty of the first were wounded and taken prisoners by the enemy. Among the dead was major general *JOSEPH WARREN*, a man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valour shall be esteemed among mankind. The heroic colonel Gardner, of Cambridge, has since died of his wounds; and the brave lieutenant colonel Parker of Chelmsford, who was wounded and taken prisoner, perished in Boston gaol. These three, with major Moore, and major M'Clary, who nobly struggled in the cause of their country, were the only officers of distinction which we lost. Some officers of great worth, though inferior in rank, were killed, whom we deeply lament. But the officers and soldiers in general, who were wounded, are in a fair way of recovery. The town of Charlestown, the buildings of which were large and elegant, and which contained effects belonging to the unhappy sufferers in Boston, to a very great amount, was entirely destroyed, and its chimnies and cellars now present a prospect to the Americans, exciting an indignation in their bosoms, which nothing can appease but the sacrifice of those miscreants, who have introduced horror, desolation, and havoc into these once happy abodes of liberty, peace, and plenty. We wish for no farther effusion of blood, if the freedom and peace of America can be secured without it; but if it must be otherwise, we are determined to struggle. We disdain life without liberty.

Oh Britons! be wise for yourselves before it is too late; and secure a friendly intercourse with the American colonies; disarm your ministerial assassins; put an end to this unnatural war, and suffer not any rapacious despots to amuse you with the unprofitable ideas of your *right to tax and officer the colonies*, till the most profitable and advantageous trade you have is sacrificed. Be wise for yourselves, and the Americans will contribute to and rejoice in your prosperity.

J. PALMER, per order.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

A ball has been exhibited as having been extracted from Warren's body,— he was shot through the head. And from information received from E. Stow Esq. the story must be groundless. We learn from Mr Stow son of a British Officer and a keen observer of the battle with his father in Boston, that the Cerberus of 36 guns, in addition to the ships we have mentioned, maintained a fire on the Americans; and the British troops were pouring into Charlestown the whole afternoon as fast as possible. Dr Jeffries went after the first attack in company with 400. Hodson was Colonel of the 4th Regiment the King's Own, Percy 5th, Sandford 10th, General Howe 28d, T. H. Campbell 38th, Pigot 38th, Cary 43d, Gen. Carleton 47th, Clavering 52d, T. Grant 63d, Pomeroy 64th, Urmston 65th, 59th were called Pompadours, 22d Gen. Gage's regiment was in Boston, 67th probably not. Four or five companies of Royal artillery were there by the 17th, and one of them under Capt. Fenwick in a fort on the height near the Frog Pond on the Common, with a 24-pounder and two field-pieces. Glasgow was 36 guns, Somerset 64. Lively and Falcon sloops of war. The Admiral was Graves.

Putnam, the morning of the battle, wrote to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, requesting their acknowledgement of the receipt of eighteen barrels of powder sent by the Governor of Connecticut.

Allen, the ingenious poet, a cotemporary of General Pomeroy, states in his poem on Bunker Hill Battle that Dieskau fell by the hand of Pomeroy. General Pomeroy's son stated the same fact, and farther, that it was proved in a court of justice, where Pomeroy recovered Dieskau's watch, which had been plundered from Dieskau by a soldier who shot him after he had received his first wound.

When Col. Prescott was prostrate under a desperate fever at Louisburgh his life was preserved for his country most unwittingly by an unprincipled army Surgeon, who grossly neglected him. On one of his unfrequent visits Prescott taxed him with his negligence, which the Doctor acknowledged, and observed that he thought proper to attend to those patients, there was some hope of saving. Prescott on this leaped from his bed and seized his sword to cut him down for his inhumanity, but the doctor saved his own life by a precipitate flight, and his patient's by the passion and exertion to which he had excited him, and by which he was effectually cured.

A letter of Colonel Stark, 19 June, 1776, says, General Ward sent him one order the morning of the battle, to despatch two hundred men to Charlestown Hill, which he did under Lieutenant Colónel Wyman, and another order at two o'clock for his regiment. Col. William, and not Col. John Stark his brother, was at Quebec with Wolfe.

Maj. M'Clary planned and headed the attack of the Castle at Portsmouth, N. H., 1st. Dec. 1774, when all the arms and ammunition were captured.

A map of the battle by Page, Aid-de-camp to Gen. Howe, confirms our account generally, and our denial of there being a gun boat in Mystic river. From his and De Bernier's maps, Mr Stow, the list of regiments to which the killed belonged, and all authorities, it seems certain that the regiment of Welsh Fusileers was not in the battle.

Burgoyne says of the Battle, 'and now ensued one of the greatest scenes of war that can be conceived: if we look at the height, Howe's corps ascending the hill in the face of intrenchments, and in a very disadvantageous ground, were much engaged, to the left the enemy pouring in fresh troops by thousands over the land; and in the arm of the sea our ships and floating batteries cannonading them; straight before us a large and noble town, in one great blaze, the church steeples and heights of our own camp covered with spectators of the rest of the army, which was not engaged; the hills round the country covered with spectators; the enemy all in anxious suspense; and the roar of cannon, mortars and musketry; the crash of churches, ships upon the stocks, and whole streets falling together in ruins, to fill the ear; the storm of the redoubts, with the objects above described, to fill the eye; and the reflection that perhaps a defeat was a final loss to the British empire in America, to fill the mind, made the whole picture a complica-

tion of horror and importance, beyond any thing that ever came to my lot to witness."

General Gage's military reputation was destroyed by the disastrous battle of Bunker Hill. His government expressed their marked disapprobation, and directed him to surrender his command to Howe, and return to England. In his letter accompanying his official account of the battle he complains that his success was so dearly bought by a number of killed and wounded greater than his forces could afford to lose. The trials, he observes, we have had, show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be. They are taught to assist the natural strength of the country by art, for they intrench and raise batteries. They have fortified all the heights and passes around this town, and it is not impossible for them to annoy the town."* So slight was the change of the American position in consequence of the battle, that Washington says, 'Our lines are in full view of each other a mile distant, our advance guards much nearer, and the sentries almost near enough to converse.'

As to who was, or whether any one was the actual or rightful commander in the battle we content ourselves with a minute, accurate and conscientious statement of facts.

Lists of the British troops in Boston Jan. '75 and Feb. '76 are in the Gentleman's Magazine.

Whipping and riding the wooden horse were very common punishments in the army.

Washington's General Order, November 5th, 1775.

"As the Commander in Chief has been apprized of a design formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigies of the Pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers in this army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture. At a time when we are soliciting and have really obtained the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada, whom we ought to consider as brethren, embarked in the same cause, the defence of the general liberty of America; at such a juncture and in such circumstances, to be insulting their religion is so monstrous, as not to be suffered nor excused; indeed, instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to these our brethren, as to them we are so much indebted for our late happy success over the common enemy in Canada."

* Sparks W. 8, 511.

FRAGMENTS OF WORKS OF WHICH THE AUTHOR WISHES THE
REMAINDER.

I. JAMES ALLEN'S POEM ON THE BATTLE.

Abercrombie's speech against waiting for the fleet to attack.

“ I know ye chieftains where their valor lies,
In dastard ambush and in base surprize ; &c.
Gods ! that Brigades by noble Percy led,
Whose sires so oft on fields of triumph bled,
Should thus the honor of his name forego,
And fly the face of such a scoundrel foe ;
My choice to day, the grenadiers I'll lead,
Whose giant limbs on yonder field shall bleed ;
And me their chief to ravening birds a prey,
If I believe not that disastrous day. &c.”

British Admiral's Speech.

“ The hog religion, ever mumbling prayer,
With hypocritic breath here taints the air,
The Fury faction spreads her fork'y wing,
And loathes, infernal imp, the name of king.
These Stygian powers protect the baneful coast,
And gifted shrines and holy temples boast,
To these, of old, their execrable sires
Hung gibbets high and kindled martyr fires ;
Till heaven grown weary of their crying crimes
Chased the foul Harpies to these savage climes.
Then hurl your thunder on the rebel shore,
Till yonder mounded summit streams with gore ;
And Charlestown, fated to this day of joy,
Shall cruel sack and crackling flames destroy. &c.
So spake the chief, whose will the navy ruled,
From beardless youth in naval tactic schooled.
His lofty ships, ere Britain drew the sword,
Happy at anchor in our haven rode ;
Here oft have prosperous breezes blown his sail,
And oft the wing of some tempestuous gale ;
Yet he, from storms who sought our friendly shore,
Or whom to land the winds auspicious bore,
Cast, with like scorn, his envious eye around,
And, with like haughty step, disdained the ground.
Our kind regard and every busy care,
In his depraved idea sprung from fear.
If with some honor'd guest he deign'd to dine,
He loathed the dainties and he mouth'd the wine ;
Yet brimming dishes piled his greedy plate,
And servants bore him reeling to the gate.” &c.

Pomeroy's answer to the British Herald.

“ If your proud master ask what hardy man,
Presumptuous thus, conducts the rebel Van,
Tell him tis he the Gallic phalanx broke,
Who felled proud Dieskau with a single stroke,
From mid his guards the wounded chieftain bore,
Myself, my captive, all imbrued in gore,
My noble prisoner every care was shown,
His wounds were bandaged ere was staunched my own.
Seven days to heal him every art we tried,
But on the eighth the princely[warrior died.
This dirk I wear recalcs the mournful day,
When, in deep swoons, he breathed his soul away.
This hand, that smote him mid the rage of fight,
Pillowed his head and lay his coverings light. &c.

What scenes around the savage plain o'erspread,
 What sights of woe the dying and the dead !
 There, Titcomb tell, and Williams hapless man,
 Both dauntless chiefs who led our thundering Van,
 There pale and breathless, pierced with many a brand,
 Lay the great Hendrie writhing on the strand.
 Two thousand warriors to our aid he brought,
 And he their chief beneath our standard fought. &c.
 The charms of chase their sportive lives engage
 And all their death is but the sleep of age ;
 The breath of rosy morn their youth inhale
 On breezy mountains or the balmy vale.
 Children of nature peaceable and kind,
 If no awakening passion vex the mind,
 But if proud insult dare obtrude a wrong,
 Burns the war fire and howls the deathful song,
 The god of vengeance all the tribes adore
 And steep, O horrid rite, their tongues in gore. &c.
 The tribes assembled all resent our wrongs,
 Their altars blaze, and trill the warrior's songs,
 Prepared for march, they offer all their aid,
 From every river bank or bowery shade.
 Then tell your master from the savage plains,
 Where freedom's throne in Natal glory reigns. &c."

2. Extracts from another poem on the battle, in 18mo. of about 100 pages, with copious notes, the title page and many leaves gone; we know nothing of its history.

Bold Putnam traverses the hill,
 Assists brave Warren with his skill. &c.
 Brave Gardner with his sword in hand,
 A hero more beloved than he
 Ne'er fell defending liberty,
 The village church shall ring his knell
 The village youth his fame shall tell
 And matrons on his virtues dwell.
 Pomeroy and Stark, with equal skill,
 O'erpowered, slowly wend the hill.

The generous Abercrombie falls
 Pierc'd thro' and thro' by many balls.
 A braver or more generous foe
 In battle, never was laid low, &c.
 Pitcairn fell next and press the earth,
 And closed his manly eyes in death.
 Thus in his turn he fell and bled,
 Who first the blood of freemen shed ;
 But may his spirit rest in peace,
 Enmity on the grave should cease. &c.

3. Extracts from a song said to be written by a British Serjeant.

The seventeenth by break of day,
 The Yankees did surprise us,
 With their strong works they had thrown up,
 To burn the town and drive us.
 But soon we had an order come,
 An order to defeat them,
 Like rebels stout, they stood it out,
 And thought we ne'er could beat them.
 About the hour of twelve that day
 An order came for marching,
 With three good flints and sixty rounds,
 Each man hoped to discharge them.
 We marched down to the Long-wharf,
 Where boats were ready waiting,
 With expedition we embarked,
 Our ships kept cannonading.
 And when our boats all filled were
 With officers and soldiers,
 With as good troops as England had
 To oppose, who dare control us.
 And when our boats all filled were,
 We rowed in line of battle,
 The showers of ball like hail did fly,
 Our cannon loud did rattle.
 The Glasgow frigate cleared the shore,
 All in the time of landing,
 With her grape shot and musket balls,
 No rebels could withstand them.

Brave William Howe on our right wing,
 Cried, boys, fight on like thunder ;
 You soon will see the rebels flee,
 In great amaze and wonder.
 They began to play on our left wing,
 Where Pigot he commanded,
 But we returned it back again,
 With courage most undaunted.
 To our grape shot and musket balls,
 To which they were but strangers,
 They thought to come with sword in hand,
 But soon they found their danger.
 But our conductor he got broke
 For his misconduct sure, sir,
 The shot he sent for twelve pound guns,
 Were made for twenty-fours, sir.
 There's some in Boston pleased to say,
 As we the field were taking,
 We went to kill their countrymen,
 While they their hay were making.
 For such stout whigs I never saw,
 To hang them all I'd rather,
 For making hay with musket balls,
 And buck-shot mixed together.
 As for their king JOHN HANCOCK,
 And ADAMS, if they're taken,
 Their heads for signs shall hang up high,
 Upon that hill called Beacon.







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